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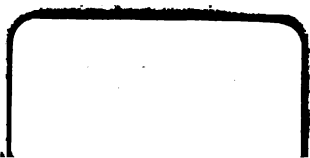
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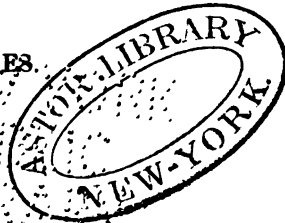
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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN GREECE,
FROM ITS CONQUEST BY THE ROMANS B.C. 146,
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY JAMES EMERSON, ESQ.
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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HISTORY

OF

MODERN GREECE.

CHAPTER XII.

The Phanariots and Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia.

It will be remembered that the reduction of Constantinople, in 1453, was mainly achieved by the extraordinary exploit of Mahomet II. in transporting his galleys from the Bosphorus to the interior of the harbour,* by dragging them over land from Dolma Bactche,† and again launching them opposite to the quarter denominated the Phanar, from a lantern suspended over the gate which there communicates with the city.‡ The inhabitants of this district, either from terror or treachery, are said

* See Vol. i. p. 132. Gibbon, c. lxviii.

† Walsh's Journey from Constantinople, p. 32. Douglas's Modern Greeks, p. 164.

‡ Πύλη τοῦ Φαναρίου.

to have subsequently thrown open a passage to the conqueror; and Mahomet, as a remuneration, assigned them for their residence this portion of Constantinople, which has since continued to be occupied by the Patriarch and the most distinguished families of the Greeks.* It is only, however, within the last century and half that the Phanariots have attained any distinction beyond that of merchants and bankers, or that their name, from merely designating their residence, has been used to indicate their diplomatic employments. Precluded by prejudice and the Koran from the study of any language except their own,† the Turks have always been accustomed to treat with foreign states through a Drogueman, or interpreter.‡ This office, under the early sultans, involved neither dignity nor important emolument; it was usually entrusted to Jews or Renegades;§ and the Grammatikos, or translator, after the

* Thornton, vol. ii. p. 313.

† Zalloni, *Essai sur les Fanariotes*, p. 14—an exceedingly curious volume.

‡ This officer, with the same title, existed likewise under the Byzantine emperors. See Gibbon, c. liii.

§ Ibrahim, by birth a Pole, was interpreter during the embassy of Busbequius; and Spon mentions another, whose Polish name was Albertus Bobovius, who communicated to Rycaut the materials from which he composed his *State of the Ottoman Empire*.

performance of his duty, was accustomed to retire amongst the other slaves and servants of the seraglio.* Down to the reign of Mahomet IV. about the close of the seventeenth century, this system remained unaltered, till a Greek, named Panayotaki, on whom the office was conferred, succeeded in having it invested with those honours, and endowed with those privileges, which it afterwards preserved.

He was descended from an exiled family of Trebizond, and born in the Island of Scio, whence he removed to Italy for the study of medicine and philosophy. Amongst the Turks, who had lately abandoned the pursuit of alchemy, astrology was then a favourite science; and Panayotaki, humouring the taste of the day, soon ingratiated himself, by his proficiency,† in the favour of the Grand Vizir Kiuprouli Mehmed Pacha. By the influence of this powerful patron he obtained the place of Court interpreter, and was nominated to attend the Vizir in his celebrated expedition to Crete.‡ Towards the conclusion of the memorable siege of Candia, the Turks were reduced to despondency, and the Sultan roused to exas-

* Carrel, p. 135. Zalloni, p. 15.

† For some instances of his tact in prophecy, see Cantemir, book iii. p. 1.

‡ Vol. i. p. 212.

peration by the protraction of the war, and the gallant defence of Morosini. A report, which had reached the Ottoman army, that the French were about to send a fleet to the aid of the Venetians, served to crown their dismay, when Panayotaki at once brought the pending struggle to an issue, and placed the city in the hands of Kiuprouli. By means of an Arab slave named Maxud,* he demanded an interview with the Venetian general, who had not yet heard of the promised succours. To him he represented the French as hostile to the Republic, and anxious to co-operate with the Porte rather than the Candlots; he dwelt on the certainty of their speedy reduction, should France unite her forces with those of the Vizir; and after pointing out the advantages of an honourable surrender, he retired, leaving Morosini fully impressed with the sincerity and justice of his counsel. The same night a detachment of the Ottoman squadron sailed, by the direction of the interpreter, towards the west of the island, and the following morning returning under French colours, were welcomed by the besiegers with all apparent joy and enthusiasm. Morosini, concluding that all hope was now over, sent to propose terms to

* Who related the circumstance to Cantemir, p. 258.

the enemy, and Candia was without farther delay surrendered to the Porte.

The success of this attempt raised its projector at once to the highest point of favour with his sovereign,* which he took advantage of, to represent the imprudence of entrusting a duty so arduous and confidential as that of Interpreter to a mere slave or a stranger;† and Mahomet, convinced by his arguments, immediately invested the office with new and imposing dignity. Panayotaki received the title of *Divan Terkiman*, or Drogueman of the Council; he was assigned apartments in the palace, and his salary was raised to a sum equivalent to the rank and importance of his situation.‡ In the war which the Porte undertook for the Cossacks of the Ukraine, who refused submission to the crown of Poland, Panayotaki again accompanied his patron. Whilst the army lay before Kaminiac in Podolia, he was asked by Kiuprouli why he, who knew so much concerning the fate of others, could not predict his own? "Come to me at midnight," replied the interpreter, "and you will witness an event which will occasion you some astonishment, and perhaps regret." At the appointed hour the Vizir arrived at the

* Cantemir, p. 261.

† Carrel, 136.

‡ Ninety-four purses, Carrel, p. 150. Rab. p. 98.

tent of his favourite, and found him expiring in the arms of his attendants. He entreated as a last favour, that his body might be conveyed to the capital: Kiuprouli complied, and the remains of the first Phanariot noble* were interred in the Monastery of the Trinity, in one of the isles of the Propontis.†

To Panayotaki succeeded Alexander Mavrocordato, a Sciot by birth, and, like his predecessor, a medical student of Padua and Bologna. His first recommendation in the eyes of the Turks was his apparent magic in judging of the intensity of disease by the violence of pulsation; and a tract on the then newly-discovered theory of the circulation of the blood, contributed highly to raise him in the estimation of the Court. At the treaty of Carlowitz, 1699, he appeared as the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Ottoman Porte,‡ and received the

* “ Les Grecs du Fanar, avant cette mémorable époque, partageaient les disgrâces communes à tous les Grecs, et rien n’annonçait qu’il devait *s’établir chez eux une aristocratie* aussi vicieuse que puissante.”—Zalloni, p. 238.

† Cantemir, 262. Thornton, vol. ii. p. 305. Rabbe, p. 98. Résumé de Bory St. Vincent, p. 355.

‡ Mr. Hobhouse (Voyage in Albania, &c. Lett. 81.) has committed a slight error in confounding this individual with his son Nicolas, who subsequently became Hospodar of Wallachia.

“ Nicholas Mavrocordato, the first Greek Waivode of

title of *Bey* and *Mahremi Esrar*, or “depository of secrets,” which has descended to his official successors.*

From the death of Panayotaki, the situation of Interpreter to the Divan continued to be held with even increased privileges by Greeks; and edicts were issued by the Sultans forbidding its enjoyment to either Jews or Armenians.† An ample field was thus opened for the ambition of the Phanariots;‡ their children, from an early age, were educated in the accomplishments necessary to qualify them for the elevated office,§ and as an additional recom-

Wallachia chosen by the Porte, was elected about the beginning of the last century, after having been Plenipotentiary for the Sultan at Carlowitz.”

The same mistake has been made by another author, who is referred to by Zalloni, p. 239.

* Rizo, p. 58. “Son titulaire avait la qualification de *très glorieux*, et lorsqu’il était fils d’un Hospodar celle de *très illustre*.”—Rabbe, p. 98.

† “Depuis Panayotaki, le Secrétaire-interprète ou Drogman de la Porte fut toujours Grec de nation. Cette dignité fut solennellement interdite aux Juifs et aux Arméniens, par des édits autographes des Sultans.”—Rizo, p. 59.

‡ Zalloni, p. 17. Carrel, 137.

§ “L’étude approfondie de la langue Grecque, du Latin, de l’Italien, du Français, et des trois principales langues Orientales, le Turc, l’Arabe, et le Persan, étaient des préliminaires et des instrumens indispensables pour réussir dans la carrière restreinte et ambitionnée des charges auxquelles

mendation, numbers of them assumed the ancient names of Greeks of the lower empire, in order to command a higher respect in the eyes of their countrymen.* As a peculiar mark of

les Grecs de Constantinople pouvaient aspirer.”—Rizo, *Cour. de Lit. Grec. Mod.* part ii. p. 81.

It was only, however, with the express permission of the Hospodar, by whom they were created Boyars, that the children of Phanariots were enabled to learn the language of their masters, (Zalloni, p. 195.) The concession of this favour, and the introduction of the Hotgia, or Turkish tutor, to his pupils, occasioned a kind of festival in the family to whom it was granted. The Hotgia, for his services, was obliged to be handsomely remunerated; since his office was one, which, owing to the prohibitions of the Koran, rendered him degraded in the eyes of his countrymen. The system adopted towards the Beyzades, or sons of the Prince, was totally different, no other language being taught to them, till they were perfectly masters of Turkish.

* Thornton, vol. ii. p. 306. “Les Fanariotes par vanité, ou par toute autre cause ont substitué, aux noms qu’ils donnaient vulgairement à leurs enfans, des noms plus historiques, plus pompeux, plus conformes à leur orgueil. * * * Cette espèce de fourberie n’est pas très dangereuse pour les contemporains, mais il arrivera qu’un jour la Grèce ne sera peuplée que de faux descendans, des Ptolemées, des Perdiccas, des Comnènes, des Paleologues, &c. &c.—Zalloni, p. 171. See *ib.* p. 238.

Hobhouse mentions the same. “It is true that some families boast a more noble descent from the Sovereigns of Constantinople, for the name of Catacuzenus has been once assumed by two Wallachian Greeks, but, as it ap-

respect, the Drogueman was allowed to cherish his long and glossy beard, a favour accorded only to the faithful, and permitted to dress in flowing robes, like his masters, with the exception of assuming, in lieu of a turban, a cap furred with ermine, similar to those of the interpreters to foreign embassies. Like the patriarch of his church, he might ride attended by four domestics through the streets of the capital, and neither he, his sons, nor twenty of his suite, were compelled to pay taxes or karatsch.* It was likewise one of the privileges conceded to Panayotaki, to be enabled to purchase Georgian slaves, a prerogative formerly accorded to Moslems alone; and no other court could take cognizance of any charge against the state interpreter, than the supreme tribunal of the Grand Vizir.†

The duties of his appointment originally consisted in attending at the conferences of the Reis Effendi with European ministers, and in translating the letters and dispatches addressed

pears, without their having had any just pretensions to that distinction." See also Wilkinson's Wallachia and Moldavia, ch. ii. p. 58.

* Rizo, p. 59.

† He had also "*la faculté de sauver de l'apostasie quelques unes de ces chrétiens, et de les affranchir après les avoir rachetés.*"—Rizo, p. 59.

by foreign states to the Ottoman court. Such an office, held under such masters, quickly led to a power and influence on the part of its functionaries, more extended than had been contemplated by its founders.* With the

* The humiliating etiquette to which these officers were subjected, notwithstanding their acknowledged rank and influence, is strikingly characteristic of the despotism of the Ottoman court.

“ But a short time before,” says Mr. Hobhouse, “ we had seen the same prince interpreting between his Excellency and the Caimacam, or Vice-vizir of Constantinople, with a humility altogether affecting. He was clothed in a coarse gown, miscalled a robe of honour, and which appeared the more shabby when contrasted with the splendid garments of the Turks, and the fine pelisses distributed to the Ambassador and some of his suite; and he performed his office in a tone so low, that he was with difficulty heard, even by those next to him, introducing some affected hesitations, to show his awe and terror of his masters. It should be mentioned, however, that this singular piece of adulation is practised by the Turks themselves, when in presence of the Sultan, and that a ready and clear elocution would be thought presumptuous before the lord of the empire. The Caimacam, in the audience-chamber, when replying to the Ambassador on behalf of his Imperial master, who sat motionless on his throne beside him, not only spoke in the lowest tone, but boggled and stopped so long and frequently in his speech, holding up his head with the air of a boy who had forgotten his lesson, that the Sultan prompted him audibly twice or thrice. This was not occasioned by any real forgetfulness, but was only affected as a mark of humble confusion.

“ On the same day, in the Divan, the Greek Prince was

Porte they were indispensable ; every treaty and every transaction with Christian powers was managed by Phanariot agents, nor was any proposal or complaint attended to which was not introduced by the Drogueman of the Divan.* To foreign diplomatists, in like manner, their inference was a matter of the highest moment, since they alone had the opportunity of reason-

obliged to stand, from four in the morning until ten, during the attendance of the Ambassador upon the Caimacam; and when his Excellency and his numerous suite were seated round various tables at dinner, overcome by fatigue, but not permitted to be seen resting himself on a sofa in such a place, he slipped into a corner of the chamber, and sinking on the floor, fell asleep; whilst three Greeks, his attendants, stood before the spot, that he might not be discovered by the Turks. I saw him by accident, and pointed him out to another person present. He was seated on the ground, supported by the corner of the wainscot, his black beard resting on his bosom, his face pale, and his eyes closed in a deep sleep, but every other feature unchanged, and impressed with the traits of terror and perpetual constraint. A mournful picture of wretchedness and dignified slavery!"—Hobhouse, vol. i. p. 514. Lett. 31.

* "Si quelque drogman des ambassadeurs proposait officiellement aux ministres des affaires étrangères, une négociation quelconque, sans que le grand interprète fut présent, le ministre Turc avant de lui répondre, lui demandait préalablement si l'interprète de la Porte avait connaissance de cette communication; et à la réponse négative du drogman de l'ambassadeur, *Allez*, lui disait le reiss effendi, *informez-en notre drogman*."—Rizo, p. 62.

ing in private with the ministers of the Sultan, on those matters which European officers could do no more than propose in public. When Turkey condescended to send an ambassador to an infidel power, it was with difficulty that she could find a subject who had so far subdued his prejudice and ignorance as to accept the office ; and those who had, were so totally devoid of all knowledge of the language, policy, or manners of the country to which they were dispatched,* that their services, if not prejudicial, were seldom favourable to the interests of their sovereign. The trouble attendant on such a situation was, under these circumstances, a matter to be anxiously avoided by the apathetic Moslems : and Greeks were, in consequence, nominated as *chargés d'affaires* at the capital of every power with whom the Porte had amicable intercourse. Equally ignorant of the interests or

* Jusuph Agliab Effendi was, in 1796, Ambassador to the Court of London ; on his return to Constantinople, he was interrogated on the remarkable things which he had witnessed in England. " As to their famous House of Commons," said he, " it is a gathering of insolent chattering knaves ; for my part, I never saw any thing so miserable in my life. But one thing I did see in London really surprising—a feat beyond all admiration. It was a man who, holding four oranges in one hand, and four forks in the other, cast them alternately into the air, and planted a fork in each orange as it fell, with inconceivable precision and celerity."

laws of commerce, the Ottomans, in like manner, abandoned its protection to their versatile subjects; and the consuls, and vice-consuls of the Porte, were all chosen by the State Interpreter, and by him recommended for nomination to the Vizir, or his Kaimakam.*

Another office of similar importance, instituted after that of the State Drogueman, was the place of Interpreter to the Capitan Pacha. In rank and influence he was beneath his colleague, but in point of revenue and wealth, he infinitely excelled him.† His duties were chiefly confined to the affairs of the Cyclades, in which he had the appointment of all the important offices, and he accompanied the Capitan Pacha in his annual visitations throughout the Archipelago. In this department his influence was as absolute as that of the Divan Terziman‡ on shore, and in every council and treaty he appeared rather the colleague than the secretary of his principal.§ A place of so much

* Rizo, p. 66.

† “ Les revenus fixes du Grand-Interprète montaient à quatre-vingt-quatorze bourses; les fonctions de Drogman de la flotte rapportaient jusqu'à *trois* cents bourses.”—Carrel, p. 150.

‡ The Turkish title for the State Drogueman.

§ For an accurate account of the state and influence of the Drogueman to the fleet, the reader is referred to the first volume of Mr. Hope's “Anastatius,” a work as replete with

power was unfortunately liable to proportionate corruption; a considerable part of the annual revenue of the admiral must be raised by exaction, and as the direction of this rested chiefly with the Drogueman, his reputation with his master, and his future advancement, depended exclusively on his capacity for financial extortion.* By this means his severities towards the rayahs of the islands rendered him an object of dread and detestation, whilst all the injuries he inflicted were felt with double poignancy, as coming from the hand of a Greek.†

Exalted as these offices were, however, they served but as intermediate steps in the scale of

Oriental information, as remarkable for the charms and elegance of its composition.

* “La rentrée des impôts annuels, ou du tribut que doivent les insulaires de l'Archipel à la Sublime Porte, est une époque remarquable pour le Drogman de la Marine. Plus il a persécuté les Grecs, plus il a montré du zèle, et c'est alors qu'il obtient quelques fois à son retour, à titre de récompense, la charge de Drogman du Divan, et par la suite la dignité de Prince Hospodar.” Zalloni, p. 152.

† “Il n'est pas besoin, je pense, de vous faire sentir combien est affreuse cette conduite de la part d'un Grec, et combien elle doit vous paraître odieuse cette politique des Fanariotes visible dans les actes de ce Drogman.”—Conversation of the Archbishop of Derkon, Zalloni, p. 155.

Phanariot ambition. There was still a higher honour to aim at; and the Hospodariats of Wallachia and Moldavia, which in the commencement of the last century were thrown open to the Greeks, afforded a more distinguished field for that political aspiring and restless intrigue, which, in the brief space of less than fifty years, succeeded in elevating them from slaves to princes.

These two provinces, which with Transylvania, and the Bannat of Temeswar, composed the kingdom of Ancient Dacia, were originally peopled by a Sarmatian race, whose incursions into the Roman territory were a source of frequent annoyance to the early emperors. Domitian, instead of reducing them to subjection, was compelled, after a fruitless war, to sue for peace, which he obtained on the terms of becoming tributary to their King Decebalus; and his successors down to Trajan submitted to the degrading impost. That active prince, however, refusing to continue a custom derogatory to the honour of the Romans, the Dacians promptly crossed the Danube, and attacked the northern provinces of his empire. A war of five years' continuance ensued, and terminated in the final and absolute submission of the barbarians,* whose country be-

* "The remains of his bridge yet mark the spot where he

came thenceforth a province of Rome :* thirty-thousand colonists were transported to it by the victorious emperor, and in the modern language and costume of Wallachia, may still be traced the characteristics of their early settlers.† Dacia continued from this period to be governed by Roman Prefects, till Aurelian, in his politic treaty with the Goths,‡ in the third century, ceded it to them as a conquest whose hostile tenure was a source of weakness, but whose amicable independence rendered it a bulwark against foreign aggression. The subsequent expulsion of the Goths by the Huns, and their wars with the Emperors Valens and Theodosius, I have alluded to elsewhere ;§ Dacia, from their defeat, was occupied by its invaders, till conquered, after the death of

(Trajan) crossed, considerably higher up the Danube : some piles, when the water is low, project three feet above the surface, and impede the navigation of the river.”—Walsh, p. 266.

* Gibbon, vol. i. ch. i. p. 6.

† Dr. Walsh, in his voyage from Constantinople to England, has given numerous specimens of the language of Modern Dacia. See p. 267 and Appendix No. 5.

‡ A. D. 274. The Goths, in A. D. 361, introduced Christianity, which has since continued the national religion of Wallachia.

§ Vol. i. p. 35.

Alarie, by the Gepidæ;* and they being in turn routed by Alboin King of the Lombards, he, in A. D. 550, appropriated the province to himself.

To the Lombards succeeded the Avars, or white Huns, who never recovering from their signal defeat by Heraclius before Constantinople in A. D. 626, were an easy spoil to a fresh horde of invaders, the Sclavi and Bulgarians, who, towards the close of the same century seized upon the territory of the Dacians, where their descendants to the present day are distinguished by the name of Walachs.†

Various petty dynasties now arose, from the migrations of the native inhabitants, or the independent settlements of their invaders; and during the subsequent incursion of the Scythian and Tartar tribes who supplanted the Sclavi, parties of these fugitives crossing the Carpathian mountains, established themselves in Hungary, and amongst other colonies founded those of Fagaras and Maramoroch. On the departure of the Tartars, after an occupation of two centuries, they left the province a desert, nor did it recover its prosperity till about the

* Gibbon, c. xlii.

† For some speculations on the origin of this name, see Walsh, chap. xiii. and Wilkinson, p. 10.

middle of the thirteenth century,* when Wallachia Proper was re-occupied by an expedition from Fagaras, headed by Rhaddo Negro, or Rhodolph the Swarthy; and Moldavia was seized by a similar body returning from Maramoroch, under their leader Bogdan.† The two chiefs assumed the title of Vaivodes,‡ and did homage to the Kings of Hungary, who held a nominal authority over their principalities till the 14th century, when their independence was finally acknowledged.§ The Vaivodes, who succeeded to Rhaddo, contributed gradually to the furtherance of their national prosperity; and so rapid was their advancement in arms and resources, that in 1391 they led a powerful force to the relief of the adjoining provinces, which had been occupied by the Turks under Bajazet. The attempt was futile, and Mirza the Vaivode, who had undertaken it, was defeated by the Sultan, and his dominions subjected to a tribute of 3000 piastres.||

* About the year 1241.

† Moldavia derives its popular name from the river Moldau, which intersects it. By the natives it is called Bogdania, probably from the name of him who founded the new dynasty.

‡ See n. vol. i. p. 281.

§ Crayova was shortly after surrendered by its Ban, to Rhaddo, and has since formed a portion of Wallachia. Wilkinson, p. 15. Thornton, vol. ii. p. 311.

|| Knolles' Hist. of the Turks, p. 204. Wilkinson, p. 17.

When in 1444 Pope Eugene IV. urged on the youthful monarch of Hungary to a dishonourable war, and sent him in arms against Amurath II.,* Dracula,† the Vaivode of Wallachia, despatched his son with four thousand troops to join the standard of Vladislaf.‡ The disastrous field of Varna terminated the imprudent enterprise,§ and the life of its leader; and his general, Hunniades, preparing to return to his kingdom, was seized by Dracula, who was anxious to again ingratiate himself with the Sultan, and detained for twelve months a prisoner in Wallachia. For this act of double treachery, John, on his release, exacted ample vengeance; he invaded the Vaivodalic, dethroned its ruler, and placed another in his stead, who being subsequently routed at the battle of Cassova,|| Wallachia again became tributary to the Ottomans.

Still impatient of restraint, its hardy natives did not long preserve their allegiance, and ere a dozen years had elapsed, their Vaivode, (a second Dracula¶,) was again in arms against Mahomet II.** His efforts had, however, no better success than those of his predecessor; he was pursued by the Sultan to his own do-

* See vol. i. p. 128.

† A name signifying "Devil."

‡ Knolles, p. 296.

§ Gibbon, c. lxvii.

|| Gibbon, ib.

¶ Wilkinson, p. 19.

** A.D. 1460.

minions, where he dethroned him, and elevated his brother Vladus, with the rank and title of a Pacha, to his principality. The treaty now entered into between the Turks and the new Vaivode laid the foundation of the future constitution of Wallachia;* and its stipulations, though frequently infringed upon, remain at the present day almost unaltered.

* Its principal stipulations were, 1. That the Sultan, assuming a mere sovereignty over the Wallachians, should afford them military protection on the payment of a stipulated tribute, (10,000 piastres annually.) 2. That the election of Vaivodes was to be solely in the hands of the natives themselves; and no Turk, without an ostensible reason, was to settle in the province. The third item regulated the mode of transmitting the tribute; and the fourth nominated the Archbishop, Metropolitan Bishops, and nobles, or Boyars, as the electors of the Vaivode, subject to the approval of the Porte. 5. The Wallachians to be governed by their own laws, and to have a right of making war or peace without the interference of the Porte. 6. All Christian renegadoes having abjured Islamism, to be free from reclamation in Wallachia. 7. Wallachian subjects sojourning in the Ottoman dominions to be exempt from Karatsch. The 8th and 9th items were similar to the 5th and 2d; by the 10th no Wallachian was to be made a slave by a Turk, and no mosque to be erected in the territory. 11. The Sultan was not to interfere, by the granting of Firhman, with the affairs of Wallachians, nor to assume a right of summoning, on any pretence, a Wallachian to Copstantinople.—Wilkinson, p. 20. Walsh, p. 268.

Shortly after this event Moldavia likewise became subject to the Ottomans. During a long series of years its opposition to their arms had been fierce and unrelaxing; and its natives had maintained the unequal contest by sacrifices and deeds of heroism, of which the world have never heard.* Stephen, their last independent prince, during a struggle of fifty years successfully opposed the progress of the Islamites; but after the defeat of Lewis II. at the battle of Mohaca,† and the subsequent occupation of Hungary by Solyman I.‡ he lost all confidence in the ultimate success of his patriotic exertions, and on his death-bed charged his son Bogdan to avert, by a ready submission, the hostile visitations of a conqueror so resistless as the Sultan.§ Bogdan complied, and Solyman in 1529 signed at Buda a treaty, which placed Moldavia on nearly the same terms with Wallachia, securing to it, on the payment of a tribute of 4000 piastres, the possession of its laws

* "Les Valaques," says a writer in the *Journal des Debats*, (5 May, 1823,) "et surtout les Moldaves ont soutenu contre eux une lutte inégale, par des sacrifices et des faits héroïques presque inconnus au monde, *carent quia vate sacro*."

† August 26, 1526.

‡ Robertson, ch. v. book iv. Knolles, Cantemir, &c.

§ Wilkinson, p. 29. Zalloni, p. 79. Carrel, p. 138.

and religion, the administration of its own finances, and the right of electing its prince, subject to the Porte's approval.*

Their fates being thus assimilated, and their objects and sufferings the same, the two Vaidalics now co-operated in almost every measure for their mutual protection and advantage. Their period of tranquillity was but brief; nor were the Ottomans long contented with the nominal sovereignty accorded them by the treaty of capitulation. Gradually encroaching by treachery or violence on the territory and privileges of the Wallachians, they possessed themselves of the most commanding positions on the Danube; and the fortresses of Tourno, Giurgievo, and Ibrail, still remain to attest the extent of their innovations. At the same time the election of the Vaivode became, like that of every other office under the Sultans, a matter of corruption and intrigue. The Grand Vizier expected from the successful candidate a present of fifty thousand ducats, which, by degrees, became one hundred; every Boyar who claimed the office necessarily secured, as a primary step, the interest and support of his Turkish masters,† and, in case of his appoint-

* Thornton, vol. ii, p. 312.

† Carrel, p. 139.

ment, was forced to send one of his relatives or sons as a hostage to Constantinople. In every direction the rights of the subject were invaded and trampled upon; and the excesses and depredations of the Turkish garrisons on the Danube were connived at and unpunished by the Porte.

At length, in 1593, the two principalities rose in rebellion against the debauched and despotic prince, Amurath III. They were joined by Sigismund of Transylvania, likewise a subject of the Sultan, who had revolted at the instigation of Innocent IX. and the Emperor Rhodolph; and after a form of remonstrance to the Porte, they dispersed a band of Janissaries despatched against them, and, seizing on the fortress of Giurgiévo, drove its garrison across the Danube. Amurath and his successor, Mahomet III. in vain opposed them; and after a war of five years, the latter quietly relinquished his claims.*

Michael, the Vaivode of Wallachia, was subsequently, on the death of Sigismund, invested by Rhodolph with his principality, but an insurrection of the Transylvanians obliged him in the following year to solicit the support of Austria. An army under the command of General Baste was sent to his aid, and the in-

* Wilkinson, p. 26.

surgents were routed; but the two commanders quarrelling as to the administration of the province, Michael was assassinated by order of his rival.* Wallachia on this event was instantly occupied by the troops of Mahomet, a new Vaivode of his own nomination was elected, the authority of the Porte and the charter of Mahomet II. were restored, and from that period till the beginning of the 18th century the power of the Ottoman Sultans has continued paramount and almost undisputed.

Moldavia, after the successful expedition of Sigismund and Michael, was invaded by the former, and Aaron its Vaivode deposed; but in 1597 it was wrested from him by the Poles, who in 1602 restored it to the Turks, since which time, until 1711, its servitude, like that of its fellow province, was unbroken and unresisting. The Divan, it is true, during this interval paid some more scrupulous regard to their stipulated privileges; but the right which it assumed in 1714, of punishing with death the princes of Wallachia, threw off at once the mask, and introduced that system of despotism, which, with few interruptions, prevailed to the present.

The undue influence exercised by the ministers of the seraglio in the election of the Vaivodes, to which I have alluded, was in 1709

* A. D. 1602.

exerted to procure the government of Moldavia for Nicolas, son to Alexander Mavrocordato, who succeeded Panayotaki in the office of Drogueman.* This prince was resident at Yassi, when, in 1710, the Porte had intimation of a premeditated revolt on the part of Constantine Brancorano Bessaraba, Vaivode of Wallachia, in favour of the Czar Peter, who was then preparing for hostilities with the Porte. He had agreed to furnish a subsidy of thirty-thousand men and ample provisions for the Russian army on its march to Constantinople; and Peter relied on, and was deceived by his promises.† In order to circumvent and punish the rebellious Vaivode, the Porte resolved on drawing him into a snare by means of the Hospodar‡ of Moldavia; but Mavrocordato not being deemed

* Zalloni, n. p. 22.

† His correspondence with Peter was not his first offence against the Sultan. During the reign of Achmet II. he had united with the army of the Porte in an expedition against the Emperor; but so far from co-operating with the Vizier, he abstained *is toto* from any active share in the enterprise. For this service he was rewarded, after the peace of Carlowitz, with the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, which is still claimed, though not borne, by his descendant at Bucharest.

‡ "This title, derived from the Slavonic Gospodar, "a lord," was about this period applied to the Vaivodes by the Russians."—Wilkinson, n. p. 47.

a fitting instrument, was recalled, and Demetrius Cantemir (the historian) appointed in his place. He set out with positive orders to seize, either by treachery or force, the person of Bessaraba;* but so far from complying with his instructions, he united with the Vaivodes against their common despot, and sent a messenger to the Czar with offers of his services and principality.

Relying on these assurances, Peter appeared before Yassi with his army in 1711, but Bessaraba, terrified at the vastness of the Turkish preparations for his reception, shrank from the performance of his stipulations; and the expedition thus ruined by his defection, effected their return to Russia solely by the sagacity of the Czarina Catherine, who bribed the Turkish Vizier with all the jewels in her camp.

Cantemir fled with the discomfited Czar to Moscow, and Mavrocordato was reinstated in the vacant Hospodariat. Bessaraba, vainly hoping that his treachery was unknown, continued for some time to enjoy his government in false security. But in 1714, during the ceremonies of Passion week, a Capidji Bachi arrived unexpectedly at Bucharest. He sent a messenger to inform the Vaivode that he was hurrying through the province on urgent busi-

* Cantemir, p. 451.

ness, but would have leisure for one short interview. Bessaraba accordingly waited on him on the morrow, and was saluted on his entrance by the Capidji placing a black handkerchief on his shoulder, the signal of deposition. He followed him with his wife and eight children to the capital, and there, after being submitted to the torture in order to force him to disclose the depository of his treasure, he was beheaded with his four sons, and their bodies cast into the Bosphorus, whence they floated ashore, and were buried by a fisherman on the island of Chalki in the Propontis.

On the arrest of Constantine, a Greek called Stephen, who had assumed the name of Cantacuzene, was, by order of the Porte, nominated to succeed him. His election was the last instance in which the empty form of popular suffrage was employed ;* and after a brief reign of two years, he was deposed in order to make room for Nicolas Mavrocordato, who in 1716 was transferred from Moldavia, and by the single voice of the Sultan declared Vaivode of Wallachia,† with a promise that in future the government of the two principalities should be

* Wilkinson, pp. 40, 42.

† Zalloni states that the privilege continued till 1730, when Constantine Mavrocordato was elected by the Boyars, p. 20.

reserved* as rewards for the faithful servants of the Divan.†

* Zalloni, p. 19. Walsh, 272. Rizo, *Cours de Litterature Grecque Moderne*, part ii. pp. 77, 80.

† Down to 1823, Bessaraba was the last Boyar, of Wallachian or Moldavian birth, who could be said to have been elected by the constitution of the province. Nicolas Mavrocordato was succeeded, about 1730, by his son Constantine, who, after numerous depositions and restorations, was finally disgraced in 1763, and died in obscurity. Phanariot ambition in the mean time had been violently inflamed, and all who could advance a claim to distinction, abandoning industry, betook themselves to venality and intrigue. The proportion of competitors in a short time so far exceeded the number of vacancies, that the only means of gratifying the importunate suitors, and at the same time replenishing by their bribery the coffers of the Porte, was by frequent mutations in the government and offices of the principalities. To so ruinous an extent was this policy pursued, that, in the interval between the deposition of Bessaraba and the commencement of the present century, no less than forty princes had successively governed Wallachia alone, independently of the time it was occupied by the Russians from 1770 to 1774, by the Austrians and Russians from 1789 to 1792, and by the Russians again, from 1806 to 1812.‡

At length, in 1792, the Russians (who had before interfered in behalf of the Hospodariats, at the peace of Kainardjik,) made it one of their stipulations at the treaty of Yassi, that the Porte should not, without sufficient cause of complaint, remove any ruler of either province, till after a

‡ Wilkinson ; Eton, *Survey of the Turkish Empire*, cviii. p. 290.

With the path to almost regal distinction thus thrown open to the privileged Phanariots,

space of at least seven years' enjoyment. The Ottomans had, however, too many alluring inducements to the infringement of this item, to continue long to observe it; and during the immediately succeeding years, the Boyars had frequently to protest against its violation.

In 1802, Prince Ypsilanti was raised to the administration of Wallachia, and Alexander Morousi to that of Moldavia, with the express condition (obtained through the Russian minister at the Porte) that neither should be prematurely removed from office, without the commission of some direct offence.* Notwithstanding this stipulation, they were both, in 1805, recalled in order to make room for Charles Callimachi and Alexander Suzo, who succeeded to their several governments. Russia, already irritated by some former acts of the Ottomans, now took up arms for the Hospodars, and having thrown an army into Bender and Hotimm, war was declared against her by the Porte. Hostilities, however, were never brought to a crisis, and the troops of Alexander continued to occupy the principalities, till the final adjustment of the quarrel at the treaty of Bucharest in 1812. Wallachia and Moldavia were then restored to the Porte, with the exception of that portion of the latter situated between the Pruth and the Dneister, which was ceded to Alexander by the Sultan, and Callimachi and Yanko Caradza were nominated as the new Hospodars. The Divan, anxious to cultivate the friendship of Russia, did not again presume to interfere in their removal before the expiration of their septennial investiture. But Caradza, having amassed considerable wealth, and escaped from Bucharest in 1818, settled with his family at Pisa, where he still resides. On this oc-

* Thornton, vol. ii. p. 377.

every engine of venality and intrigue was put in action for its attainment. The minor honours

oasion, Suzo (to whose election Russia had formerly objected) was nominated in his stead. But he did not long survive to enjoy his exaltation; he expired in February 1821, at the moment of the breaking out of the insurrection of Prince Ypsilanti.

This project was one in which the natives of the two provinces had neither interest nor concern, since the Turks were not *their* oppressors, and their influence (thanks to the interference and protection of Russia) had long been very slight in Moldavia and Wallachia. Michael Suzo, however, a young man who had succeeded to the Hospodariat of Moldavia on the retiring of Callimachi, readily joined in the undertaking of Ypsilanti, and involved the two provinces in commotion and civil war. The attempt was fruitless, and on the overthrow of the insurgents, the scene of the contest was left blood-stained and desolate, the Boyars and inhabitants having fled to avoid the vengeance of the Turks, and their dwellings and lands being plundered and despoiled by the combatants. After the suppression of the rebellion, the Turks hastened to restore tranquillity and order; and the Boyars, having returned, sent to them a deputation, entreating the restoration of their ancient code and constitution. The Porte acceded; they received the embassy with courtesy, and in several conferences with the Reis Effendi in 1823, at which the Sultan was present incognito, their future destination was finally arranged. Phanariots were for ever cut off from the service of the Porte. Nicolas Gkika was nominated to the Vaivodalick of Wallachia, and Jouan Stourdza to that of Moldavia, and their ancient privileges and laws, as accorded by Mahomet II. were re-established in the two principalities.

of Interpreters to the fleets or the Divan were sought after merely as initiatory steps to princely distinction, and the hoards accumulated in early life were poured with a lavish hand into the coffers of the Vizier, as the purchase of the envied honour.* The present to this minister on the nomination of a Hospodar, was usually estimated at about eighty-thousand pounds* sterling, in return for which, however, his annual revenue was calculated at nearly double that sum.† The form of installation was accompanied with all the pomp attendant on that of a Pacha; the *kukka*, or military crest, was placed on the head of the Hospodar by the Muzhar Aga; the Sultan himself invested him with the *capinitza*, or robe of honour; and he was permitted to plant three horse-tails before the court of his palace, and standards and military music preceded him to the cathedral of the Patriarch, where he was received with

* Eton, Survey, &c. c. viii. p. 287.

† Such is the estimate of M. Rabbe: "Ses revenus," says he, "pouvaient monter à quatre millions de francs au moins," p. 99. Wilkinson reduces the amount to 2,000,000 *piastres*, c. iii. p. 68; and Thornton, vol. ii. c. ix. p. 362, to one million *piastres*. This discrepancy must arise from stating as a fixed sum the produce of a particular period. The taxes, says Dr. Walsh, are limited to a nominal sum, but are occasionally raised by the prince to any amount, either to gratify the cupidity of the Turks, or *his own*. c. xiii. p. 288.

all the sacred ceremonies attendant on the inauguration of the Greek emperors.* During the period which elapsed between his appointment† and his arrival at his government, the province was committed to the care of his Kaimacam, or deputy, whilst the Prince remained at the capital to inhale the incense offered by the crowds of flatterers and parasites who surround his palace; his merchants and tradesmen came in oriental style to lay all their worldly wealth at his feet; his bankers to entreat with earnestness his acceptance of every mahmoudi in their treasury, and the haughtiest suitors of the Phanar to bow themselves before him and pay their early homage to the rising sun.‡

He departed from the capital preceded by his Conakzi or *avant-courier*, accompanied by one of his horse-tails, who was deputed to arrange the commissariat and order of his progress. The Prince followed with a guard of five hundred attendants surrounding his equipage; and his march, conducted with all the state and pageantry of a Pacha, was divided into easy stages, and generally occupied about thirty days ere he reached the capital of his future domi-

* Wilkinson, p. 46. Thornton, vol. ii. p. 340. Rizo, p. 226.

† Usually about two months. Zalloni, p. 29.

‡ Zalloni, 28, 35.

nions. Here he made his entry in state, surrounded by his Peiks and Solaks;* and being received by the assembled Boyars and prelates, amidst the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, the din of military music, and all the paraphernalia of kingly pomp, he was conducted to the metropolitan church, when the Archbishop again performed the ceremonies of inauguration, and conferred on him the title of "God's anointed."†

Assuming with his new dignity a becoming proportion of Oriental effeminacy and hauteur, his court was characterised by extravagance and profusion; his costume differed but in few particulars from that of the Grand Seignior, and his palace was surrounded by hosts of Albanian guards, Wallachian Boyars, and Phanariot dependents. The latter, emerging from the restraints and despotic restrictions of the capital, here revelled in all the luxury of official arrogance and long-stifled pride. Affecting an extreme of enfeebled refinement, their slightest wants were watched by a crowd of domestics; and, lounging in motionless luxury on their splendid sofas, they exacted from their dependents an excess of that respectful homage which

* Officers of high rank, who form in state processions the immediate body-guard of the Sultan.

† Wilkinson, p. 47. Thornton, vol. ii. p. 341.

they had themselves been so long taught to pay their Ottoman masters.* Freed from the trammels of sumptuary laws, their dress vied in magnificence with the richest subjects of the Sultan; and the splendour of their retinues, and richness of their equipages, evinced the extravagant avidity with which they embraced the first opportunity of gratifying a passion which tyranny had before obliged them to suppress.

The Boyars, or native nobility, who formed from a fifteenth to a twentieth part of the entire population,† enjoyed a reputation scarcely more exalted than that of the Greeks. The order being degraded, in consequence of the right of creating its new members resting with the Hospodar, whose choice did not always light on the most worthy objects;‡ their rank arose chiefly from their wealth and landed possessions, and the number of those who could boast a Slavonic, or even a moderately remote extraction, was limited in the extreme. Without education or knowledge of the world, and perpetually exposed to the contagion of

* Thornton, vol. ii. p. 370.

† The population of the two provinces is estimated at one million, and Wallachia alone contains thirty thousand Boyars, —Thornton, p. 334, vol. ii. Wilkinson.

‡ Carrel, p. 142.

vices whose example was the more seductive because associated with power, they imbibed all the depraved propensities without being possessed of the redeeming qualities of the Greeks, and their days were consumed in one unvaried round of luxury, frivolity, and dissipation. To the Phanariot princes their devotion was abject in the extreme; they trembled at their look, and sought no higher gratification than their smile of complacency or glance of approval.* A court composed of personages such as these, naturally presented a glowing picture of vitiated despotism and crouching subserviency; whilst its leaders were distinguished by no one redeeming trait of dignity, and its minions were totally divested of those refinements, or that urbanity, which occasionally characterise the sycophants of European royalty.

Uncertain as to the duration of his government, the first care of the Hospodar on arriving at his capital was the organization of his reve-

* "The Boyars, in their individual capacity, tremble before the authority of the prince; they cross themselves when they enter the palace, in order to avert the dangers which beset them; on approaching the presence-chamber, they compose their features and attitude into the expression of servile respect; few among them are permitted to kiss the prince's hand, and many esteem it an honour to be allowed to touch his robe or his feet."—Thornton.

nue, so as to secure an ample fund for the feeing of his friends or enemies at Constantinople, for the support of his suite and establishment at Bucharest or Yassi, and as a resource against the event of his sudden deposition.* Independent of the imposts allotted him by the Porte,† he exercised an almost arbitrary right of levying taxes,‡ since their assessment rested chiefly with the Divan of the native Boyars, who, either through corruption or fear, were blindly

* "Le génie du fisc est le seul génie qu'il invoque."—Zalloni, 54.

† "Cependant la Sublime Porte, d'où relève ce prince, a posé des limites à ses droits; elle lui a concédé seulement la perception de l'impôt du personnel, la capitation des moutons, celle des abeilles, l'exploitation des mines de sel, la perception des droits de douane, etc. etc. qu'elle a évalués à quinze cent mille francs environ."—Zalloni, ib.—(See following note.)

‡ Under the Greek Hospodars, the constitution of the two provinces differed but in a slight degree from that which they enjoyed under their native Vaivodes. The ostensible form of their government was that of a limited monarchy, the prince being represented by the Hospodar, and the Senate by the Divan of native Boyars. The only control, however, which the latter possessed over the acts of the former, was in the financial affairs of the province; and even here their influence was a shadow, since they were in almost every case the mere creatures of the prince. The power of the Hospodar was in fact absolute, and his judgments, not only in civil but in capital cases, admitted of no appeal to a higher tribunal. The Divan, or national

devoted to his interests;* his profits on all levies of corn or provisions for Constantinople†

* "Il est arrivé que des Boyards indigènes, seuls défenseurs de leurs malheureux compatriotes, ont osé élever la voix contre ces révoltantes rapines; mais l'exil a bientôt vengé l'Hospodar de cet acte de témérité.

"Si par contre, un Boyard facilite au prince le moyen de réaliser d'autres bénéfices par de nouveaux impôts, il est sûr d'être honoré de ses bonnes grâces, et de n'être oublié ni dans ses largesses ni dans ses faveurs."—Zalloni, p. 58.

† Zalloni, p. 71.

council, was composed of the principal Boyars, naturalized † as well as native, whose election (with the exception of the archbishop, who held his seat in virtue of his office) was renewed every year by the Hospodar. This body, with the prince as president, composed the high judiciary court of the province, and its decisions in cases of appeal from minor tribunals were final. In the event of the death or sudden deposition of the Hospodar, it was likewise authorized to assume the temporary administration of the province. Its judgments were guided by usage or the will of the president, though a system drawn from the laws of Justinian and the Basilics had been adopted as the national code in the reign of Matthew Bessaraba 1733, and improved by several of his successors. Minor tribunals existed at Bucharest and Yassi, chiefly for the protection of commerce, besides separate departments for police, the treasury, and criminal cases, and

† A Greek who had held office under three successive Hospodars, and married the daughter of a Boyar, was entitled to a right of naturalization.

were excessive; and his gains by *angaria*, and Government "jobs," were usually estimated at one third their entire expense. Local monopolies were another fertile source of revenue;* and as

* Almost every article of consumption was extravagantly taxed at the several Douans; and Zalloni states, that the

a number of provincial courts, whose decisions were liable to revision by the Divan.†

All offices and places of trust were in the gift of the Hospodar, with a nominal responsibility to the Porte for the conduct of those on whom he conferred his appointments. Of these the principal were given to his immediate Phanariot followers, a few were reserved for the native Boyars, and some sinecures were allotted to Mahomedans.‡ The principal military forces were the Delhis and Albanian *Touphaickdgis* of the Hospodar, who had been introduced to supplant the native militia of the provinces.§ The entire amount of these did not exceed in each principality 6000 men, who were scattered throughout the villages and districts, under the command of captains appointed by the Hetman, or *Spathari*|| of the Hospodariat. The reduction of the national military force commenced early in the last century, and its final accomplishment seemed to annihilate amongst the people all hope or aspiring for independence, since the country was thus, without resource or protection, completely abandoned to the authority of the Porte.

† Wilkinson, p. 51.

‡ Zalloni, 26, 27, 36. Lists of the principal officers are to be found in Wilkinson, c. ii. Zalloni, p. 24. Thornton, vol. ii. p. 344, 355. § Carrel, p. 142.

|| The former name is used to designate the commander of the forces in Moldavia, the latter in Wallachia.

he possessed likewise a power of altering, from time to time, the standard of the current coin, he contrived that its depreciation should always take place at a moment when tributes were to be levied, whilst there was an instant advancement in its value on every occasion when popular disbursements were to be made. He had a share of the income derivable from all the public offices in the principality; and every individual who was raised to the rank of a Boyar, as well as every prelate who received from him an appointment, was expected to deposit a handsome present at the treasury of the Hospodar.*

There is no tyranny, says M. Carrel, so galling as that of a political renegade under a foreign enslaver; and such, in its fullest extent, was the Government of Wallachia and Moldavia: a system of pillage rather than protection,† which, so far from cherishing the capabilities, or ameliorating the condition of the subjugated inhabitants, regarded the provinces only as

Hospodar was frequently the most extensive smuggler in his own dominions; as he could afford, even after bribing his own officers, to sell the contraband articles at a rate far below the exorbitant impost at which he permitted them to be introduced at the frontiers.—Zalloni, p. 61.

* Wilkinson, p. 68.

† Eton, c. viii. p. 288. Thornton, vol. 2. p. 308. Walsh, c. xiii. p. 288.

fertile fields for spoliation, as portions detached* from the body of the empire, in whose general prosperity they had no participation, but were solely devoted to the enriching and aggrandizement of imperial favourites.

It must, however, be admitted, that this political degradation existed in even a more oppressive form under the native princes, and that the Greek Hospodars, instead of aggravating the evil, exerted themselves occasionally, so far as circumstances would permit, for its removal. Previously to their introduction into the principalities, the peasantry were the absolute slaves of the Boyars; possessed of no privileges beyond the temporary concessions of their masters, tributary to the entire extent of their property, and totally deprived of all means or opportunities of education. The improvement of such a state of society was, under any circumstances, an Augean task, and must seem almost an impossibility, when we take into account the precarious influence of those with whom the amend-

* " Les principautés étaient dites *detachées* † par la chancellerie Ottomane parce qu'elles payaient un tribut déterminé, et séparé de celui qui devaient les autres provinces de l'empire."—Rizo, p. 226.

† Mefrouzoul-kalem vè Maktonoul Kadem.

ments were to originate, and the opposition likely to arise on the part of the class most deeply interested in the continuance of the evil—the Boyars. Still there were found some individuals sufficiently enterprising to undertake it; and though their efforts may not have been crowned with signal success, justice demands, at least, a tribute to the uprightness of their intentions. To Nicolas Mavrocordato, the first Phanariot Vaivode, belongs the honour of having established at Bucharest and Yassi institutions for the education of the people; and though, under subsequent rulers, their effects have been impeded, they still survive, a monument to the memory of their founder. By his successor, Constantine, the feudal system was abolished in Wallachia, and the Rumuns, or peasants, were emancipated from the dominion of the nobles. Such a measure, had it been followed by acts of corresponding benefit, could not fail to have produced an important amelioration in the condition of the people; but, unfortunately, here the reformation stopped, and the tyranny of succeeding Hospodars effectually neutralized, though it did not revoke, the concessions of Constantine. Taxes and imposts were levied on the peasantry, till the labours of the entire year barely sufficed for their

discharge, and left but a miserable pittance for the support of the unfortunate husbandmen;* whilst the contempt and barbarity with which they were treated by their own Boyars, broke down every feeling of self-respect, and reduced them to all the unresisting imbecility of slavery.†

* “Le tarif des redevances auxquelles ces laboureurs sont soumis est tellement surchargé, qu’ils travaillent toute l’année pour le fisc, et qu’il leur reste à peine de quoi satisfaire leur extrême frugalité.”—Zalloni, p. 54. See Eton, c. viii.

† There does not, perhaps, exist a people labouring under a greater degree of oppression from the effects of despotic power, and more heavily burthened with impositions and taxes, than the peasantry of Wallachia and Moldavia, nor any who would bear half their weight with the same seeming patience and resignation. Accustomed, however, to that state of servitude, which to others might appear intolerable, they are unable to form hopes of a better condition; the habitual depression of their minds has become a sort of natural stupor and apathy, which render them equally indifferent to the enjoyments of life, and insensible to happiness, as to the pangs of anguish and affliction.—Wilkinson, c. viii. p. 155.

Under such oppressions, when every one is forced to contribute in proportion to his profits, they naturally avoid labour of which they cannot hope to reap the fruits; they exert no ingenuity, and apply themselves to no new branches of industry; they scarcely even retain those arts of which the practice is eventually necessary; the mechanical arts are left to foreigners from the neighbouring states, who are protected from injustice by the influence of their own Governments. The natives become indolent, because they cannot ameliorate their condition by exertion, as they become treacherous, because treachery is employed to discover and to extort their

The defects of their constitution were, however, the original causes of these flagrant abuses: an overgrown and ignorant aristocracy were not likely to exercise any efficient control over a governor, on whom they were themselves dependent for advancement, and who, were they disposed to thwart him, could always procure from Constantinople a firman to sanction his proceedings; and on the other hand, the brief duration of the Government of the Hospodar was an effectual bar to the establishment of any reformation originating with him, which, ere it had time to gain a firm footing, might be overthrown by his successor. It was thus that the amendments introduced into the judicial code of the two countries, by Ypsilanti, Gkika, Caradza, and others,* though adopted by the Divan, were never acted upon by succeeding Hospodars, who, in their decisions, followed each the dictates of his own will, or the measures suggested by the expediency of the moment.† The crime of oppression, in fact, lay

scanty savings. Their features are contracted by care and anxiety, their bodies are debilitated by idleness and deficiency of nutriment, and drunkenness, as it lightens the immediate pressure of misery, completes in them the debasement of the distinguishing faculties of rational nature.—Thornton.

* Rizo, p. 229. Zalloni, p. 76.

† Wilkinson (p. 48) says, "It is in conformity to these

rather with its agents, than with those who were in some degree compelled by the nature of their situation to overlook it; and when, on the flight of Caradza, in 1818, the Boyars offered to submit to *any amount* of tribute which the Porte might think fit to impose on them, provided the government of the provinces were restored to themselves, the imprudent petition was made less perhaps from an aversion to the Phanariots, than an experience of their own abilities and success in extortion.*

The rapacity of the Greeks whilst in power, was mainly attributable to the uncertain tenure by which they held their authority. No sooner did a Hospodar set out from Constantinople, than his competitors in the Phanar exerted every energy for his overthrow; and he had at once to commence a war against calumny, ambition, bribery, and intrigue.† These were, however, in the end invariably successful; and when the aid of the bow-string was not employed to terminate his reign, the firman of the Sultan recalled him to obscurity, or perhaps disgrace. As these cabals assumed a threatening aspect, and

laws, that all suits are *said* to be judged, and the sentences framed; but the prince interprets them *his own way*; and his *will*, in fact, is the only predominating law."

* Walsh, p. 219. Wilkinson, p. 122.

† Eton, c. viii. p. 287.

his approaching deposition was ascertained with certainty, he had, in general, a timely warning of his fate from his Bachi-kapi-kiahaya, an officer appointed to keep watch over his interests and enemies at Constantinople. With all expedition his wealth* was now concentrated and transmitted by secure agents to the place of his future residence. This important point secured, he awaited with resignation the arrival of the Khatt'y Sherif which commanded his return. When at length the fatal document reached his capital, and its contents were announced to the Divan, he resigned into their hands the insignia of his office and the keys of the imperial chest, and without waiting the arrival of his successor, set out *instantly* for Constantinople. Here, retiring into private life,† or

* The property of the Hospodars usually consisted of specie alone; or if the produce of their governments happened to be vested in lands, the purchase was always completed in the name of another. So lucrative were these princely appointments, that some deposed governors have been known to return to Constantinople with a fortune of 10,000,000 francs, amassed during a viceroyalty of only two years.

† The residence of the Ex-hospodars is usually near the arsenal, beyond the walls of Constantinople; since, having been invested, on their installation, with the standard of three tails, and the Grand Vizier enjoying the same distinction, the constitution of the Ottoman does not permit two individuals so highly honoured to reside in the interior of the same city.

again commencing the profession of intrigue, he was distinguished in no degree, save by an empty title, from the rest of his colleagues, and was honoured with no consideration except that which he could derive from his riches.

From this detail of the objects and ambition of the inhabitants of the Phanar, it is easy to conceive the leading features by which the entire body must have been characterised. Without nobility to entitle them to distinction, and in general without hereditary wealth to purchase it, each had to achieve his own elevation to power, by means for which he was indebted less to education than to nature. The single qualification (a knowledge of European languages) which was nominally requisite for the discharge of the first duties to which he aspired, was one so easy of attainment, that amid such a crowd of rivals, mere proficiency in it, without some farther recommendation to notice, could scarcely have been said to contribute to the advancement of its possessor. Patronage, under these circumstances, became absolutely essential; and the earliest study of the young Phanariots was the art to render themselves useful or agreeable in the eyes of those whose protection and support were essential to their future success.

Thus, after an interval of nearly two thousand years, a similar coincidence of political cir-

cumstances placed the Greeks in precisely the same situation which they had occupied on their submission to the Romans, and produced a developement of character, the striking similarity of which to that bestowed on them by their early historians, must be obvious to the most casual observer. Under the declining dominion of the Byzantine monarchs, the path to honours and eminence, though attainable by the same medium of titles and courtly patronage, afforded no equal stimulus to ambition; the services of its prostrated subjects were of comparatively no importance to their masters, who were themselves possessed of the same peculiar talents and acquirements; and though its minions could occasionally rise from the ranks of domestics to the command of its nerveless armies,* every year brought some fresh diminution of its power, and, by decreasing the influence of the throne, gradually benumbed the minds and energies of the Greeks.

But the new and rising dynasty of the Sultans at length awoke them from their lethargy, and the allurements which it held out to ambition, served to call into action those passions and talents which had so long lain dormant. The extortion and venality of the Court of Constantinople at the period when the Pha-

* Gibbon, c. liii.

nariots first rose to power, affords, in some particulars, a striking parallel to that of Rome under the early emperors. The conquered nations, quartered on the territory of both,* were alike exposed to tributary exaction; and in both corruption and bribery were equally available in attaining to the enjoyment of every dignified employment.† Under each, the situation of the Greeks was the same: they esteemed their ingenuity, but despised their character; and whilst by both they were encouraged as inferior, though influential agents, by neither were they admitted to more than conventional rank. Any shadow of superiority which might exist in their mode of treatment by the two people, must however be adjudged to the Ottomans; since by them they were invested with a portion of political power, whilst by the Romans they were condemned to merely subordinate pursuits.‡ The supersti-

* " Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Judæis, quorum cophinus sænumque supellex.
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
Arbor," &c. Juvenal, Sat. iii. l. 12,

† ————— " Hic vivimus ambitiosa
Paupertate omnes,—quid te moror? *omnia Romæ*
Cum pretio." *Ibid. l. 182.*

‡ " Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem: vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
Orabunt causas melius: cœlique meatus

tions and the ignorance of each* were equally favourable to the display of the genius of the Greeks; and with both, precisely the same fields appear to have afforded room for the development of their peculiar abilities.†

Their adulation to those in power was alike at the Forum and the Phanar; and their system of subserviency, flattery, and intrigue, may be described in terms accurately the same. The opinions, and tastes, and feelings of their patrons were paramount to their own,‡ and by a studied submission and acquiescence with these, they succeeded in rendering

Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent :

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento :

Hæ tibi erunt artes," &c. Virgil, Æn. vi. v. 846.

* "Quid Romæ faciam?" &c.

—————"motus

Astrorum ignoro : funus promittere patris

Nec volo nec possum," &c. Juven. Sat. iii. l. 41.

—————"Quicquid

Discerit Astrologus, credent à fonte relatum

Hammonia."——— Ib. Sat. xiv. l. 553.

† "Grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes,

Augur, schænobates, medicus, magus," &c.

Ib. Sat. iii. l. 76.

‡ "Natio Comceda est—rides, majore cachinno

Concutitur—flet, si lachrymas aspexit amici,

Nec dolet : igniculum brumæ si tempore poscas,

Accipit endromydem ; si dixeris æstuo, sudat."

Juv. Sat. iii. l. 100.

their presence and services equally indispensable to their Asiatic as to their Latin despots. With the Romans, they took an important part in every transaction, public or domestic, and concentrated in their body an exclusive right of interference in their affairs.* With the Turks, in like manner, their shrewdness and activity rendered them their advisers and agents in every matter where indolence or ignorance compelled them to call in their aid; and secret commissions,† well-timed attentions, and ostentatious devotion to their masters, were alike their duty in the palaces of the Cæsars and the Seraglios of Constantinople. A ready wit, consummate impudence, and fluent declamation, were the characteristics of the Roman parasite; ‡ whilst a perpetual smile of adula-

* "Non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat
 Protophenes aliquis, vel Diphilus aut Erimanthus
 Qui gentis vitio nunquam *partitur* amicum,
 Solus habet. Nam quum facilem stillavit in aurem
 Exiguum de naturæ patriæque veneno
 Limine summoveor, perierunt tempora longi
 Servitii," &c. &c. *Ib.* Sat. iii. l. 119.

† "Scire volunt secreta domûs, et inde timeri." *Ib.* l. 113.

"Faut-il ajouter que les Fanariotes étaient à la tête de toutes les *affaires privées* des princes et des seigneurs Turcs."
 —Carrel, p. 149.

‡ "Ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo
 Promptus, et Isæo torrentior." *Ib.* l. 73.

tion, a ready laugh, a bow of obsequiousness, a tongue tipped with flattery, and an eye twinkling with cunning, completed the picture of the Phanariot.

Nor can it be denied that this manifestation of the talents of the Greeks evinced a genius peculiar to themselves, and identical with that which, from the remotest period, was considered as characteristic of their ancestors. In their competitions for the favours vouchsafed by their masters, they betrayed the same passion for power, and the same anxiety for the overthrow of their rivals, which was displayed on a more extended scale by their progenitors two thousand years before. Other classes of the subjects of the Sultan had enjoyed equal opportunities of advancement, and been employed in similar occupations by the Porte, but by none were they improved to the same advantage as by the Greeks. The Jews, still grovelling and burrowing, like vermin, under the foundations of power, sought merely to amass by office something to gloat over in secret, and devour without participation; the Armenians, unambitious of distinction, aimed only at acquiring an honourable independence, and possessing in moderation the privileges won by their probity and upright demeanour; whilst the Greeks, frantic, like their fathers, with vain aspirings,

bartered every real consideration for the hope of some distant dignity, and sacrificed every enjoyment, social or domestic, to ambition.

But the chief importance of the Phanariots arose from the power of those who acted as bankers and financiers at Constantinople, and whose influence, under a government where money was the chief momentum in every state transaction, was almost unbounded. The purchase of every office, from that of a Pacha to a Cadi, was negotiated through them; and if the reports of members of their own body are to be credited, the Phanariots were in numerous instances the real rulers of the provinces, whilst the Turkish authorities were little better than their salaried agents.* Places of trust under the Porte were always conferred on those who, besides the stipulated purchase, (equal in general to the revenue of two years,) furnished to the Vizier, or minister, the most costly present on the occasion of their nomination. The wealthy Greeks, though incapable of holding office in their own person, ranged themselves in the list of these competitors; and as their offers were not only the most advantageous, but,

* "C'est un fait tout récemment établi, &c. que partout où les Fanariotes ne commendaient pas par eux-mêmes, les Turcs commendaient pour leur compte."—Carrel, p. 134.

owing to their submitted rank, the best secured, they were generally preferred to the more haughty and less affluent Turks. As the Phanariots were thus the monopolists of almost all employments, it was to them that an applicant, foiled in his negotiation with the Vizier, next addressed himself. The Greek in possession of the requisite firman, (a blank being left for the name of its bearer,) concluded a bargain on his own terms, either sharing the profits of the appointment between them, or allowing the Pacha, or Vaivode, as the case might be, a stipulated sum from the annual revenue of his jurisdiction. As a check upon his punctuality, the banker had always the appointment of the secretary to each officer; and with him rested the administration and internal direction of his government; whilst the duty of his principal consisted chiefly in keeping the Moslems in subjection, and inflicting summary vengeance on the refractory Rayahs.*

* Carrel, p. 147. The appointment of Cadis, in like manner, was almost exclusively in the hands of the Phanariot financiers. These petty officers are all nominated by the Sheik Islam, or chief expounder of the law, from whom their blank commissions were purchased, by the hundred, by wealthy Greeks. These were again transferred to subaltern agents, who, hawking them through the various provinces, disposed of them to some individuals for large sums, or received bribes

Nor was it merely to the higher offices of the empire that the attention of the Phanariots was confined; no one department of the external or internal policy of the Ottomans was totally free from their interference. They alone possessed the knowledge requisite to oppose by its own weapons the policy of European cabinets: they or their emissaries were the spies of the Sultan in every capital in Christendom;* and by means of their own *employés*, or the agency of the priesthood, they maintained a perpetual surveillance over the affairs of the Greeks.† The latter body, owing to their early corruption,‡ were almost from the conquest of Mahomet II. devoted to the interest of the Porte, whose protection was requisite to authorize the extortion which they exercised towards their flocks; and after the eighteenth century, when the power of the Phanariots had acquired a firm footing in the empire, the prelates of their church were almost invariably elected from the ranks of that privileged order.§ Attached to these as their

from others to suppress them, lest the corrupt Cadis, then in office, and in whose hands they had causes pending, should be superseded."

* Zalloni, pp. 109, 119.

† Ibid. p. 149.

‡ See vol. i. p. 354.

§ "Ces privilèges maintenus par les Phanariotes regar-

patrons, the clergy were unresistingly bound to second their views, and opposition or remonstrance to the Porte was certain to be followed by the ruin of the refractory prelate.* Their instructions were to preach to their flocks interminable hatred to the Latins, and due submission to the Divan, as gentle masters, who exacted from them no military service, and for whose occasional acts of tyranny they were bound to feel grateful to Heaven, as entitling them to that ultimate comfort which is promised to all who mourn.† They were to re-

daient surtout le clergé, et par-là même étaient très essentiel à la conservation de la nation Grecque. Le Patriarche et les archevêques ne pouvaient être élus qu'avec les suffrages du synode, et des chefs de la nation, qui résidaient à Constantinople."—Rizo, Cours, p. 84.

* "Ils (the Phanariots) disposaient aujourd'hui de notre existence ; car si quelqu'un d'entre nous s'oppose ostensiblement à leurs projets, à leur politique, *il est sûr* de perdre son rang et sa fortune ; heureux s'il n'est qu'exilé au Mont Athos ou Chypre !"—Zalloni, p. 138.

† Zalloni represents the archbishops (from whom he derived his information regarding the connexion between the Church and the Phanar) as stating to him, that it was one of the charges given by them to their curates, to point out to their people the superiority which they enjoyed over the Moslems in being exempt from military enrolment, and represent the slavery under which they groaned a blessing vouchsafed by Providence. "Car malheur, dit l'Evangile, malheur à ceux qui ont ici leur consolation ; mais heureux ceux qui pleurent,

present independence as a word without an import, and liberty a dream which existed only in the theories of European visionaries.* Still, this system was not without its advantages in one point of view ; *it served to check apostacy*. But, on the other hand, it operated as a sedative to the aspirations of the Greeks after liberty, it so-laced them for the moment under their miseries, and in some degree reconciled them to their lot, by removing the sense of shame attendant on servitude ;—their superiors gloried in their chains, and why should humbler individuals blush for the degradation ?

From this intimate connection possessed by the Phanariots with every district of their ill-fated country, coupled with their extended influence at Constantinople, it may naturally be

et qui gémissent, et heureuses les nations qu'affligent l'humiliation et l'esclavage."—Conversations with the Archbishops of Nicomedia, Derchon, Sophia, and Thessalonica, p. 141.

* In the *Διδασκαλία Πατρική* of Anthemius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, which was printed at Constantinople in 1798, the author, after alluding to the happiness of the Greek nation in being submitted by Providence to the power of the Turks, whose coercion served to protect them from spiritual heresy, whilst their arms secured them against political enemies, strongly inculcates subjection to the powers that be, and anathematises as diabolical in its origin, and ruinous in its effects, the spirit of liberty which pervaded the West of Europe.—See quotations from his vol. in Leake's *Researches*.

asked, what important benefits accrued to the Greeks? Unfortunately, the answer must be—*none*. The voice of patriotism was drowned in the clamour of contending interests; and even their warmest eulogists admit, that, in the mutual rivalry of her children, the fate of Greece was forgotten.* The religion and constitution of the Ottomans, it has been urged, forbade the condition of the Rayahs to be altered, and would have rendered fruitless any interference in their behalf. But was not the severity of that constitution relaxed in favour of the Phanariots themselves, when, from slaves, it raised them to the dignity of princes? and could no force of intercession, no earnestness of entreaty, no suggestions of patriotism or prudence, extend that clemency, even in a slight degree, to the vast mass of misery from which these imperial favourites had been emancipated, but whose ponderous weight was still crushing their less forward countrymen? Self-interest was opposed to the attempt; no effort of the kind was ever made,† and Greece is indebted to the Phana-

* “Les Grecs du Fanar, toujours en butte à ces basses passions, ne faisaient pas pour l'avantage de leur patrie tout ce qu'il eût été en leur pouvoir de faire.”—Rizo, Cours, p. 86.

† “Il n'est que trop vrai que les Fanariotes n'ont jamais éveillé le Divan par de généreuses suppliques, qui auraient pu alléger ces chaînes de leurs correligionnaires.”—Zalloni, p. 246.

riots for no one lasting or direct advantage. In some solitary instances, it is true, the exertions of single individuals have been productive of valuable results ; but these, so far from redeeming the reputation of the entire body, tend merely to exhibit its general corruption as a foil to such insulated gems of patriotism.* Still their existence was not without producing some involuntary benefits to their community. Impelled by motives of individual interest to support their clergy, they contributed at the same time to protect religion and retard apostacy, thus preserving their nation distinct, and preventing them from amalgamating with their oppressors. Their courts in Wallachia and Moldavia were the natural refuge of crowds of their distressed and persecuted people, and the numerous offices within their gift necessarily encouraged the cultivation of those acquirements requisite for their discharge ;† whilst their elevated rank, operating as a stimulus on the minds of the higher classes of their countrymen, led to an imitation, however humble, of their polished exterior and graceful accomplishments.

Their houses at Constantinople, in compliment to the prejudices of the Turks, were, ex-

* For an enumeration of these instances, see Rizo Histoire, &c. p. 60, 61. Ibid. Cours de la Litt. Gr. Mod. p. 87, 88, 89. Walsh, c. xiii. † Rabbe, p. 101.

ternally, mean, and indicative of poverty; whilst their interior decorations were in a style of more than Oriental splendour, their walls draped with velvet, their floors covered with Persian carpets, and their ceilings crusted with gilded carved-work.* Beset by the pride of *parvenus*, their intercourse with each other was confined exclusively to those whom wealth, or the rank of a Boyar, entitled to distinction;† but to the European residents at Constantinople their carriage was courteous in the extreme. The village of Therapia, on the shore of the Bosphorus, was their summer retreat, and here their palaces and villas vied in luxury and splendour with their residences at the capital; whilst the

* "The exteriors of Rayahs' houses," says Dr. Walsh, in detailing the death of Yanko Callimaki, "are made by law, and studiously kept by the proprietors, unadorned and plain, that they might not attract the notice and cupidity of the Turks: but when they entered the interior of this to execute the Sultan's orders, they were astonished at its magnificence. The window-curtains and hangings were formed of rich cachmere shawls, and every other decoration was in a style of corresponding expense and splendour," p. 282.

† This distinction of rank, which was conferred by the Hospodars on their favourites, was usually bestowed on so many and so worthless individuals, that it latterly ceased to command respect save in the imagination of those who bore it. "On se ferait," says Zalloni, "une fausse idée à Constantinople comme ailleurs, si on attachait la moindre idée de noblesse ou d'illustration quelconque à la dénomination de Boyard," p. 92.

liveliness of their manners, and the gaiety of their mode of life, formed a favourable contrast with the sombre and secluded habits of the Ottomans.

I have spoken of the Phanariots as a people that have passed away, as a race whose career is concluded. The late events which convulsed the empire of the Sultans, have overthrown their dominion from its base, nor is it probable that it will again be restored. Necessity at first compelled the Ottomans to employ their aid in those affairs for which they have now educated members of their own religion; and the administration of Wallachia and Moldavia having returned to its native princes, the Greeks are for ever excluded from the government of the provinces. Still, corrupted as they were, one cannot revert to their fall without some feelings of regret. In the midst of an unpolished people, they preserved the manners and the feelings of civilized life; and whilst surrounded by ignorance and barbarism, they cultivated the arts, the literature, and the polish of European capitals. The place of their residence is now deserted and in ruins; its dwellings down, its dwellers passed away; and the remnant of those who have escaped from destruction and massacre, are fugitives and wanderers amidst the cities of strangers.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Language and Literature of Modern Greece.

AMONGST the most politic and efficient measures adopted by the Romans for the preservation of their power, was the extension of their language and customs to every country over which they had succeeded in establishing their sway. It was thus, that, towards the close of their dominion, Latin had become universal throughout the Roman world, and was adopted by almost every race, from the cliffs of Britain to the shores of the Adriatic.* The Greeks, however, were too proud of their learning, and too sensible of the charms of their matchless language, to exchange it for the rude dialect of their masters; and whilst the inhabitants of the West conformed without a murmur to the manners of their conquerors, the literature of Greece continued, long after her subjection, to

* Gibbon, c. ii.

retain its superiority throughout the cities of the East, and reigned unrivalled from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean.*

By degrees the Romans began to admire what they could not overthrow; the elegancies of Grecian genius gradually made their way into the libraries of Rome, and the refined productions of her immortal writers became the universal study of Italy and the West. As the intercourse of the two nations advanced, and the mistress of the world adopted the accomplishments of her tributaries, the dialect of Athens was by degrees transplanted to the banks of the Tyber; and whilst the dignity of the Roman tongue was reserved for the edicts of the throne, the musical sweetness of the Greek recommended it at once as the natural language of literature and science.† Its universality at this period cannot, however, be regarded otherwise than as one of the earliest causes of its decline, since, in its transmission to so many uncivilized nations, it must have been exposed to contamination, not only in its indi-

* Cicero pro Arch. Burtonus, *Historia Græcæ Linguae*, pp. 32, 33, 44. Conrad. Gesner de *Differen. Ling. &c.* p. 44. Diatriba de Gr. Ling. Mediol. 1724, p. 5.

† Berington's *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, ap. 1. —Mitford's *Inquiry into the Principles of Harmony in Language, &c.* Sec. viii.

vidual purity, but in its grammatical construction.* Like those highly-finished specimens of art which are most liable to injury from the extreme delicacy of their workmanship, its texture was too exquisitely wrought for the rude contact of unpolished hands, and in its wide extension it was a consequent sufferer. Still, during the early ages of Grecian slavery, and ere the taste of her masters became totally degenerate, the deteriorations which it experienced were comparatively slight;† but when the empire of the Cæsars was beginning to decline,

* “ *Hellenica lingua per tot terrarum tractus transiens, et per militares homines traducta, pro ratione locorum et gentium, inter quas disseminata est, multos idiismos inde traxit, tam in verbis singulis quam in elocutionibus: cùm aliter fieri non possit quin Græci, Macedones inter Syros, Ægyptios, Italos, Gallos, Siculos degentes, pleraque adfricuerint suæ linguæ ex eorum loquela, ut illi contrà nativum idioma pluribus Græcis vocibus et loquendi generibus corruperint.*”—Ducange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infimæ Græcitatatis*, &c. præf. p. iij.

“ *Græca vetus nonnulla à Persis accepit, recens infinita à Latinis, donec in barbariem decidit. Syriaca quæ diu Græcos habuit regionis suæ dominos, multas ab illis accepit dictiones, et vicissim dedit,*” &c.—*Salmasius de Hellenistica*, Par. i. p. 93.

† Amongst the most prominent alterations which occurred in the structure of Greek at this period, was, according to Saumaïse, or Salmasius, the abolition of the various dialects, and the reduction of the language to one uniform and general tone.

and when Rome was abandoned for their new capital on the shores of the Bosphorus, it evinced the first important symptoms of decay.* The influx of strangers and of foreign settlers tended to corrupt a dialect which its possessors had already ceased to appreciate; and the rapid decline of literature which ensued, served to remove the last barrier which could have protected it against innovation. Greek, henceforward, must be spoken of under two heads: first, as the language of the classics, which was studied as a branch of polite education; and secondly, as the vulgar dialect of the people, which, in their subsequent intercourse with the barbarians, became rapidly and irretrievably deteriorated.† Nor was this catastrophe in any degree retarded by the acts of the Byzantine monarchs, who were anxious to render their new capital Roman as well in manners as in name: Latin was by them adopted as the language of the court;‡ the titles of its officers, the terms of jurisprudence,§ and the acts of the government, were

* Ducange, *Præf.* v. *Diatriba*, &c. p. 30.

† Dalzel's *Lectures on the Ancient Greeks*, *Lect.* iv. Ducange, *præf.* p. v. Gibbon, c. lxi.

‡ Traces of it were still to be found in the language of the Byzantine court even in the 10th century.—See *Const. Porphy.* de *Cerem. aulæ Byzant.* l. i. c. 75.

§ *Blackst. Comm.* iii. 321.

alike taken from and promulgated in the idiom of Rome;* and the degenerate Greeks, who had once aspired to teach the masters of the world refinement, had now no higher ambition than a slavish imitation of their language, their customs, and their vices. The ignorance of the people in general, however, rendered the adoption of a new dialect a matter of difficulty, and Greek continued to be spoken universally throughout the provinces, where the Latin edicts of the throne were of course unintelligible to the grand mass of the nation. By degrees the fruitless innovation was abandoned;† and subsequently, on the overthrow of the empire of the Romans, when the Latin tongue sunk into total abandonment, Greek became the predo-

* Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 16.

† The Institutes, Code, and Pandects of Justinian were originally promulgated in Latin, which he denominated "the proper and public style of the Roman government, the consecrated idiom of the palace and senate of Constantinople, of the camps and tribunals of the East." Owing, however, to the popular ignorance of this royal tongue, the labours of the utilitarian Emperor were subsequently obliged to be translated into the vulgar dialect, when "the original," says Gibbon, "was forgotten, the version was studied, and the Greek, whose intrinsic merit deserved indeed the preference, obtained a legal as well as popular establishment in the Byzantine monarchy." c. liii.—Schoell, *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque*, &c. vol. i. Introd. p. xxxi. Berington, *Lit. Hist. Mod. Ages*, Ap. i. p. 530.

minant language of the East, and the remnants of literature and science which survived to the world, were solely preserved in the libraries of Constantinople and Alexandria.

As the Goths, the Huns, the Vandals, and other northern hordes spread themselves over every part of the empire, the ruin of the ancient Hellenic was accelerated; the subjugated provinces were forced to abandon those refinements of speech which their conquerors could neither comprehend nor appreciate; and the harmonious language of the Greeks, already contaminated by innovations, was now despoiled of every charm of melody, expression, or arrangement; whilst a fresh intermixture of barbarous phrases and uncouth sounds, served still farther to destroy all traces of elegance or refinement.* Nor

* Burton, *Historia Ling. Græc.* p. 46. Schoell, *Hist. de la Lit. Gr.* vol. ii. l. vi. c. lxxi.

“ There is every reason to think that the irruption of the barbarous nations of the East and North into Greece and Italy corrupted the ancient languages of both countries nearly at the same time, and in the same manner, by forcing the conquered people, already speaking a dialect corrupted in phrase and simplified in arrangement, to accommodate it still farther to the forms used in the barbarous countries from whence the invaders came; to adopt the use of articles and auxiliary verbs, instead of the more elegant discrimination of inflections, moods, and declensions; together with a syntax and construction deprived of those

did there exist one influential institution to retard the progress of corruption; the philosophy of the East was extinguished, the literary genius of the Greeks was gone, the schools of Athens and of Alexandria were abolished, and the last expiring sparks of taste or learning had retired to the solitary dungeons of the monks.

Still, during the night of ignorance which prevailed from the sixth to the ninth century, there survived at Constantinople a few, who, whilst they deplored the corruption outspread around them, preserved the cultivation of their ancient language, and could enjoy in secret the exquisite productions of their immortal ancestors.* Of this partial preservation one essential means was the influence of the church, which

transpositions and inversions which distinguish ancient Greek and Latin for elegance, expression, and harmony. Accent, the regulator of articulation among the barbarous conquerors, became that of the corrupted Greek and Latin, to the exclusion of quantity; and in poetry, the structure of ancient prosody was forgotten, and gave way to the accental versification."—Leake.

* Dalzel, Lect. iv. "In their lowest servitude and depression," says Gibbon, "the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity—of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy." c. lxvi.

in its liturgy and ceremonies retained the pure and early dialect of the nation.* The sacred orations, too, of its primitive fathers, Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil, Cyrillus, and Chrysostom, served to cherish a taste for the elegancies and strength of the ancient Greek. But, unfortunately, these impassioned homilies were early abandoned for polemics and theologic argument, in which the aim of the disputants was victory, not enlightenment; and their doctrines, fraught with new and doubtful terms, applicable only to their own subtleties, and unsatisfactory even as explanatory of these, were promulgated to the nation, not in the language of scholastic purity, but in the vulgar idiom of the period.†

* “*Tametsi apud hodiernos Græcos passim in usu sit lingua illa vulgaris de qua agimus, alia preterea apud eos viget, Græca scilicet antiqua et pura, cujus usus est in sacris celebrandis.*”—Ducange præf. p. x. Leake's Research. p. 52.

† Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 17. “*Avant d'avoir des ouvrages écrits en leur langue actuelle, les Grecs en eurent où leur langue ancienne avait subi des modifications remarquables par lesquelles elle tendait déjà aux formes plus simples, et à l'allure moins hardie, mais plus aisée de l'idiome moderne. Les ouvrages destinés à l'instruction religieuse du peuple, les hymnes sacrés, les homélies, les vies des saints et des martyrs, furent en grande partie de ce nombre.* • • *Il y a lieu de présumer que celui-ci existait des-lors comme un dialecte à part, détaché du Grec ancien.*”—Fauriel, Discours, p. xii.

The era of the Crusades and the dismemberment of Greece by the Latins in the 13th century, contributed at once to perpetuate her intellectual debasement, and to eradicate the last vestiges of original purity from her language. Her degenerate dialect was in some instances almost abandoned by particular districts;* and in all, where it prevailed, it assumed a fresh form from the example of the new settlers, and imbibed those figures, phrases, and modes of expression, which can still be traced in its constitution, and are referable to successive intermixtures with the French, the Italians, and Spaniards.† In the interim between this event and the Ottoman conquest, we can find no symptoms of a revival: as a branch of literary or professional education, the ancient Greek was still studied by the Constantinopolitans;‡ and those of the higher ranks who

* Raymond Montanero states that in his time (about the year 1300) French was spoken as perfectly at Athens as at Paris. "E parlavan axi belle Francis com dins en Paris."—Hist. Arragon. See Pref. to Ducange's Glossary of the Latinity of the Middle Ages.

† "Avec les croisés tous les dialectes de l'occident s'introduisirent de force en Grèce, une quantité de mots étrangers se nationalisèrent, la langue du peuple s'altera toujours plus," &c.—Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 17.

‡ Filelfo in his epistle to Saxolus Pratensis, quoted in

aspired to refinement, affected in their writings and discourse a restoration of the pure Hellenic, by an admixture of its obsolete terms with the popular idiom of the time. But the effort was as abortive in execution as empty in design; and though the practice continued till the end of the seventeenth cen-

Doctor Hody's *Memoirs of the Illustrious Greeks* who after the fate of Constantinople restored Greek learning in Europe, states, that at this period the popular dialect of the Morea was so base as to retain no trace of its ancient beauty or purity. "Lingua etiam ipsa adeo est depravata ut nihil omnino sapiat priscæ illius et sapientissimæ Græciæ. Mores vero barbarie omni barbariores." (*Hodius de Græcis Illustrib.* lib. ii. c. i. p. 190.) As to the popular dialect of Constantinople, it was equally degenerate; its words and phrases were totally distinct from those of the ancient Greek, and the construction, quantity, and accent of the original language were forgotten,—“neque de constructione grammatica orationis, neque de syllabarum quantitate, neque accentu, quicquam aut perfecti aut certi ex istorum præceptis haberi possunt (*potest?*) Nam lingua Æolica, quam et Homerus et Callimachus in suis operibus potissimum sunt secuti, ignoratur istic prorsus.” *Idem ad Petrum Perleoneum*, ib. p. 188. With the higher orders, and especially the females, at the capital, however, it was still the mode to imitate as far as possible the ancient elegance of their national tongue. “Viri aulici,” says Filelfo in another letter written in 1451, “veterem sermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam retinebant; in primis ipsæ nobiles mulieres, quibus, cum nullum esset omnino cum viris peregrinis commercium, merus ille ac purus Græcorum sermo servabatur intactus.” (ib. p. 189.)

tury, it was productive of no permanent improvement.*

At the present day its dialects are as various as the causes which led to its corruption.† This peculiarity was noticed, as I have mentioned in a preceding chapter,‡ by the early visitants of Greece; and though it may not now exist to the same extent as reported by Cabasyllas and Zygomala,§ its variations are still sufficiently striking. They arise, of course, from the intercourse of the various districts with their respective conquerors and colonists; and in the existing idioms of each may be distinctly discerned the effects of their proximity

* During those darkest periods which followed the fall of Constantinople, the mixo-barbarous was the mode of writing adopted by the few persons (chiefly ecclesiastics) who then received any kind of literary education. Their studies not being guided by taste or philosophy, they derived no other advantage from them than an unmeaning knowledge of the words and grammar of the ancient tongue, of which they made a pompous display in this style of pedantic ignorance; and thus the mixo-barbarous assumed a character different both from Hellenic and the common dialect. Since the corruption and effeminacy of the Turks, and the increasing weakness of their government, have unwillingly or unconsciously afforded an opening for the light of civilized Europe into Greece, this style has given way to those already mentioned, and is gradually falling into deserved contempt. Leake's Researches, p. 55.

† Gesner, p. 47.

‡ Vol. i. p. 206.

§ Turco-Græcia, lib. vii.

to their European or Oriental masters. In those of the provinces where their connection with the Ottomans has been most intimate,* the intermixture of Turkish expressions is proportionally remarkable; whilst in the vicinity of the Venetians, the alloy of Italian is equally perceptible.† In the remote islands, where commerce is unknown, and where poverty holds out no inducement to foreign settlers, the greatest purity‡ prevails; and, from an early period,

* Such as Macedonia, Egipto, Southern Albania, the Morea, and Asia Minor.

† "In the Ionian Islands," says Colonel Leake, "most ideas above the ordinary use of the vulgar, and even many of the most common phrases, are denoted by Italian words with Romaic terminations and inflections: and thus the language of these islands is one of the most corrupt in Greece."—*Researches*, p. 61.

"Qui sub Turcarum dominatione vitam agunt, ab idiomate Turcico; qui in Venetorum, ab Italico voces mutuuntur. In majoribus oppidis qui sub Turcis, Græcè et Turcicè; qui sub Venetis degunt, Græcè et Latinè vel Italicè; in pagis denique Græcè duntaxat omnes loquuntur."—Ducange, *præf.* p. vii.

In Asia Minor το *νάρι* is the door, it is *πύρα* in the Morea, and *θύρα* at the Fanar.—Douglas, *Mod. Greeks*.

‡ Leake, pp. 62, 66. "On a remarqué que les marins et les pêcheurs de cette nation ont retenus plus de mots anciens que d'autres personnes; les noms qu'ils donnent aux plantes et aux poissons ressemblent pour la plupart à ceux par lesquels les désignent Dioscoride et d'autres naturalistes."—Depping, *La Grèce*, vol. i. p. 14.

the secluded mountaineers of the North have preserved with their ancient freedom the least corrupted dialect of their fathers.* At no time, however, has the language of Modern Greece been more fluctuating and unsettled than at the present. I refer, of course, to the written dialect, which has ever been essentially different from the vulgar idiom of the people.† Its deficient, or doubtful grammatical construction, as well as the absence of any acknowledged standard of excellence, leaves it to the mercy of a host of writers, each of whom, according to his taste or education, adapts the ancient language to the modern dialect, or varies the construction of both, to suit the genius of some European model. The schools of the several literati, each eager to establish his own system of reform, have served to perpetuate

* ἐν δὲ τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ Βυζαντίῳ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι εὐρήσεις καλῶς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἰδιωτικὴν φθγογομένους ἐπίους, ὡς καὶ τοὺς παλαι. κ. τ. λ. — Letter of Cabasyllas to Kraus in Turco-Gr.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διάβασιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τὴν σύστασιν τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ θρόνου εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον, ἡ Ἀττικὴ προφορὰ διαδοθεῖσα εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Θράκης, διαφυλάχθη εἰληκρινῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ, καθὼς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου Ἑλλήνας, ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν. — Ἀρχαιολογία Ἑλληνικὴ κ. τ. λ. παρα Γρηγόριου Ἱερομοναχοῦ Παλαιοῦριτου. Τ. ii. p. 312, Venice, 1815. Hughes' Travels, vol. ii. p. 73.

† Douglas, Modern Greeks, p. 92.

the confusion, till, in the words of an able investigator, there are almost as many idioms as authors in Romaic, and it has become utterly impossible to affix any accurate boundaries to the shades which separate the ancient language from the vulgar dialect of the people.*

* Col. Leake. See an account of the state of the language and its reformers in Ioannina, in Hughes' Travels, vol. ii.

Independent of the Barbarian, and European, and Turkish interpolations to which I have alluded above, the points in which the *construction* of the modern Greek differs most essentially from its original, may be said to consist chiefly in the adoption of *accent* instead of *quantity*, as a guide for pronunciation;† but though the *three* species of accents are accurately marked in their writings, *one* only is admitted in discourse. *Aspirates*, in like manner, are still affixed by their Grammatikoi, or scribes, but are totally overlooked by their readers. Elisions, and insertions of letters, both initial, medial and final; metatheses, synalæphæ, protheses, aphæreses, and innumerable other orthographic licences, occur in abundance, but all bearing evidence that brevity, rather than euphony, has been consulted in their introduction. In their nouns, the prefixing of prepositions has superseded the elegance of inflected cases; and from the Italians they have introduced the use of diminutives of every gender; and in some cases, but more rarely, of augmentatives. (See Leake, p. 18.) They have

† See on this subject Foster's *Essay on Accent and Quantity*, and Mitford's *Enquiry into the Harmony of Language*.

During the brilliant era of the Augustan B.C.31.
age, and the centuries which succeeded pre- A.D. 330.

introduced an indefinite article *ἦναι*, unknown to the ancients; they prefix the respective pronouns to each person of their verbs, and in their conjugations have adopted the use of auxiliaries *ἔχω*, *θέλω*, &c. as well as *αἶμι* for the formation of the passive voice; together with a number of minor discrepancies.

But in the eyes of Europeans, the grand distinction consists in the peculiarities of its literal *pronunciation*. With the modern Greeks, the vowels *η*, *ι*, and *υ*, and the diphthongs *αι*, *οι*, and *υι*, have indiscriminately the same sound as that of the Italian *i*: *ε* and the diphthong *αι*, are each identical with the Italian *e*; *ου* is sounded as *u*, and *αυ* and *ευ* are resolved into *af* and *ef* before all the vowels, and any of the consonants, save *β*, *γ*, *δ*, *ζ*, *λ*, *μ*, *ν*, *ρ*, where they assume the broader sound of *av* and *ev*. *Β* has the sound of *v*, and the European *b* is always expressed in Greek by the combination of *μ* and *π*; *γ* is reduced nearly to the guttural softness of *y* when a consonant; *δ* is scarcely distinguishable from the English sound of *th*, or the *θ* of the ancients: and *κ*, with the Athenians, is nearly similar to *c* before *i* of the Italians. Whether this mode of pronunciation be in all cases identical with that of the original Greeks, or in how far it may differ from it, is a question which has occupied the pens of some of our ablest Hellenists, but whose decision is still far from being satisfactory. With the modern Greeks themselves, the conviction is of course in their own favour; and Simon Portius, one of their earliest philologists, and a Cretan by birth, exclaims with virulent contempt against those who would prefer their own barbarous theories to the established customs of a nation, whose pronunciation had been handed

B.C.31. vious to the transfer of the capital to Byzan-
A.D.
330. tium ; whilst the invigorating spirit of Greece

down, uncorrupted, from generation to generation.* When, after the fall of Constantinople, Greek learning was introduced by the fugitive Greeks into Italy, and thence diffused over Germany, France, and the West,† it was with all those

* “Mirari se (Portius) ait,” says Ducange, “quosdam doctos et non vulgari præditos eruditionis varietate, eò temeritatis venisse ut germanam, integram et ~~καταπραΐδορον~~ recentiorum Græcorum pronuntiationem, chimericis nescio quibus ducti conjecturis, totis viribus ausi fuerint, quam sanè temerario iudicio, sic irritò conatu pervertere et deturpare. Profecto,” he adds, “si Græcis maternæ linguæ flexiones et una cum lacte acceptos haustosque sonos et accentus puros et intactos audes denegare, cur barbaris eos concedas, cur extero cuique, qui aliarum nationum accentus suo nativoque accommodat, toto ut aiunt cœlo à recto earumdem nationum pronuntiatione aberrans atque deflectens.” In this controversy, Ducange wisely abstains from pronouncing any opinion of his own.—See Rizo, Cours, &c. pp. 22, n. 3. 172.

† The first Greek grammar known in the West was that of Constantine Lascaris, who taught the language at Milan and Messina, in the latter half of the fifteenth century. It was digested from the fragments of Herodian and Apollonius, and was published at Milan in 1476, being the first Greek book printed in Italy, though Greek quotations had been inserted in others. Urbano Valeriano Bolzanio, of Belluno, who was one of the earliest Greek tutors of Leo X., published in 1497 at Venice, the first exposition of the Greek grammar, which appeared in Latin. It was purchased with so great avidity, that in 1499 Erasmus found it impossible to procure a copy.

The first Greek classic ever printed, was the Homer of Demetrius Chalcondylas, in two vols. folio, printed at Flo-

was transfusing itself into the veins of Roman literature, the Greeks themselves made no fresh

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peculiarities of pronunciation that it was taught in the schools and universities of each. In England, down to the close of the fifteenth century, its cultivation had been extremely partial, and almost neglected;* so much so, that in 1488, the celebrated William Grocyn, of Bristol, was forced to travel into Italy at the age of forty-six, in order to study Greek under Manuel Chrysoloras.† Its revival in the reign of Henry VII. was violently resisted by the clergy and others; and at Oxford its partisans and opponents formed themselves into two parties, under the title of Greeks and Trojans,‡ whose contentions continued till the accession of Henry VIII. when his patronage of the new language, aided by that of Cardinal Wolsey, soon brought it into merited and universal repute.

rence by Demetrius of Crete, in 1488.—Mill's Theod. Ducas, vol. ii. p. 42, 191, 194, 212. Gibbon, c. lxvi.

The earliest specimens of Greek printing in England occur in Linacre's translation of Galen's treatise *De Temperamentis*, 4to. Cambridge, 1521, where a few words and quotations are introduced.—Horne's Introduction to the Study of Bibliography, vol. i. P. 1, sec. vii. p. 240.

* Henry's History of Britain, vol. vi. b. iii. c. 4, sec. 1, p. 92, vol. viii. b. iv. c. 4, sec. 1, p. 174. See a sketch of the introduction and culture of Greek learning in England, Burtonus, Hist. Ling. Græc. p. 31, 50, et seq. and its preservation there, in Schoell, Hist. de la Lit. Gr. v. vii. c. xcix.

† Wood's Athen. Oxon. Henry's Britain, vol. x. b. v. c. 4, sec. 1, p. 118.

‡ Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon.—Hallam, Hist. Mid. Ages, vol. ii. c. ix. P. ii. p. 621.

B.C. 31. advances towards perfection. Contented to im-
 A.D. part to others the treasures transmitted to them
 330.

The savans of Europe were, however, by no means slow in impugning the errors which they conceived attached to its pronounciation, as transmitted to them by their Constantinopolitan masters, and their doubts were quickly promulgated amongst its cultivators.

One of the first assailants of the system was Aldus Manutius, the renowned typographer of Venice;* but its most successful antagonist was Gerard, or, as he called himself, in conformity to Hellenic pedantry, Erasmus, whose *Dialogus de recta Latini, Græcique sermonis pronounciatione*, was followed by a host of literary partisans, Metkerke,† Beza, Ceratinus, and others,‡ who, after a protracted struggle, succeeded in establishing their new mode of reading. In England, the controversy was warmly espoused by Sir John Cheke, a learned professor of Cambridge, in the reign of Henry VIII. In conjunction with Sir Thomas Smith, he resolved on casting out the abomination; and having commenced their reform by the introduction of the purified pronounciation into schools and private seminaries, they at length ventured to broach their new doctrines in the Hall of

* Wetstenius du Ling. Græc. pronunc. Oratio, i. p. 7. *Ἀρχαιολογία Ἑλληνικ. κ. τ. λ. Γρηγ. Ιερομ. Παλιουριτου*, tom. ii. κεφ. ΑΖ. p. 313.

† The essay of Metkerke, or, as he is usually called, *Meckerchius*, was replied to in an ingenious paper by Gregorius Martinus, entitled, *Pro veteri et vera Græcarum Literarum Pronounciatione*. 8vo. Oxon.

‡ Of the controversies of these philological disputants, a collection has been made in the *Sylloge* of Sigebert Havercamp. 2 vols. 8vo. Leyden, 1736.

by their fathers, they evinced no anxiety to in-crease the learned stores they had inherited; B.C.31.
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330.

the University.* Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who was then Chancellor of Cambridge, set himself with unaccountable virulence against the attempted innovation, and issued an edict against the proceedings of Cheke, which, besides being remarkable for its petulance and bigotry, is curious as an illustration of the mode of pronouncing Greek at that time prevalent in England.

“STEPHANUS VINTONIENSIS EPISCOPUS, ACADEMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSIS CANCELLARIUS; *cum mea, tum Senatûs universi auctoritate legitima rogatione ad me delata, quid in literarum sonis ac linguæ tum Græcæ tum Latinæ pronuntiatione spectandum, sequendum, tenendum sit, ita edico.*

“Quisquis nostram potestatem agnoscis, sonos literis sive Græcis sive Latinis ab usu publico præsentis sæculi alienos, privato iudicio affingere ne audeto.

“Quod verò ea in re major auctoritas edixerit, jusserit, præceperit, id omnes amplectuntor, et observanto.

“Diphthongos Græcas, nedum Latinas, nisi id diæresis exigat, sonis ne deducito, neve divellito, quæsitam usu alteri vocalium prærogativam ne adimito, sed ut marem fœminæ dominari sinito, quæ verò earum in communionem soni usu convenerunt, iis tu negotium ne facessito.

“As ab *s*, *os* et *es* ab *s* sono ne distinguito, tantum in orthographia discrimen servato; *η*, *ι*, *υ* uno eodemque sono exprimito: cujusque tamen propriam in orthographia sedem diligenter notato.

“In *α* et *γ* quoties cum diphthongis aut vocalibus sonos *s* aut *z* referentibus consonantur, quoniam à doctis etiamnum

* See Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith, ch. ii. iii. Ibid. Life of Sir J. Cheke, ch. i.

B.C.31. or if some more ambitious aspirant arose, his
 A.D.
 330. efforts bore all the evidence of incipient decay.

in usu variantur, aliis densiorem, aliis tenuiorem sonum affingentibus, utriusque pronuntiationis modum discito, ne aut horum aut illorum aures offendas, neve de sonis litem inutiliter excites: cæterum qui in his sonus à pluribus receptus est, illum frequentato.

“ B litteram ad exemplum nostri *b*, ne inspissato, sed ad imitationem *v* consonantis mollius proferto.

“ Literas π et τ , item γ et κ , pro loco et situ alios atque alios sonos admittere memento: Itaque τ et π tum demum β quum proxime locantur, hæc post μ , illa post ν , his locis videlicet littera τ referat nostrum *d*, π verò *b* nostrum exprimat.

“ Littera porro γ cum proxima sedem occupet ante κ , χ , aut aliud γ , huic tu non suum, sed sonum *v* literæ accommodato; κ autem post γ positæ sonum γ affingito.

“ Ne multa. In sonis omnino ne philosophator, sed utilitor præsentibus. In his si quid emendandum sit, id omne auctoritati permittito. Publicè verò profiteri quod ab auctoritate sancita diversum, et consuetudine loquendi recepta alienum sit, nefas esto.

“ Quod hic exprimitur, id consuetudini consentaneum ducito, hactenusque pareto.

“ Si quis autem, quod abominor, secus fecerit, et de sonis (re sanè, si ipsam spectes, levicula; si contentionis inde natæ indignitatem, non ferenda) controversiam publicè moverit, aut obstinato animi proposito receptum à plerisque omnibus sonorum modum abrogare aut improbare perrexerit, quive sciens prudens ad hoc data opera, quod hic sancitum est, verbo factove publicè palàm contempserit, hunc hominem, quisquis is erit, ineptum omnes habento: et à senatu, siquidem ex eo numero jam fuerit, is qui auctoritati præest, nisi

At this period, the taste for Grecian literature ^{B.C.31.}
at Rome amounted almost to a mania; her ^{A.D. 330.}

resipuerit, expellito. Inter candidatos verò si sit, ab omni gradu honoris arceto. Ex plebe autem scholarium si fuerit, quum ita haberi id ei commodo esse possit, pro scholari ne censeto. Puerilem denique temeritatem, si quid publicè ausa fuerit, domi apud suos castigari curato. Postremò Vicecancellarius et Procuratores quæ hic præscripta sunt ne contemnantur, neve edicto fraus aliqua fiat, pro modo jurisdictionis singuli providento. Ab his si quid adversum hæc admissum sit, aut omisum, mulcta est quam dixerit Cancellarius. In summa, hoc edictum omnes sacrosanctum ita habento, ut nec contumacibus remissum, nec resipiscentibus severum esse videatur.—*Datum Londini 18 Calend. Junias, anno Domini 1542.*"

Cheke appealed from the dogmatic Chancellor to the learned men of Europe, and published a series of epistles between the Bishop and himself, in which the gentle spirit of the latter appears to but little advantage. "I have read," commences the Prelate, in an address to the professor, "the treatise which you have transmitted to me, in which I find a copious stream of words, and a redundancy of speech; much reading, too, do I discern, and happiness of memory, besides industry and diligence in the pursuit of common and trivial matters. But know, Sir, that in a professor I look also for judgment and erudition, and condemn that arrogance, presumption, and insolence, which so frequently flow from your pen."* In spite, however, of the opposition of the Bishop, the efforts of Cheke and his colleague Smith were successful. The reformation proceeded slowly, but steadily; the pronunciation, as introduced by Chrysoloras and his country-

* Stephanus Wintonus Episcopus, Acad. Cantab. Cancell. Joh. Cheko, p. 5.

B.C.31. theatres had already been adorned with the
 A.D.
 330. brightest productions of Euripides and Sophocles, of Menander, Epicharmus, and Diphilus, communicated through the medium of her native dramatists, Ennius and Afranius, Plautus, Terence, and others ;* and although in the reign

men was abandoned, and that suggested by Erasmus and his imitators became the universal practice of Britain and the rest of Europe.†

* *Serius enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis :—*

Et post Punica bella quietus, quærere cœpit

Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Æschylus utile ferrent.

Hor. Ep. L. ii. l. v. 161.

Denina, *Discorso sopra le vicendi della literatura*. Dunlop, *History of Roman Literature*, vol. i. p. 89, 142, 271. Berington *Lit. Hist. Mid. Ages*, B. i. p. 2. Pedro Napoli Signorelli, *Storia Critica de' Teatri*, l. i. c. vii.

† A copy of the grammar of Œcolampadius (or John Haukschein,) printed at Paris in 1528, directs the alphabet to be pronounced, alpha, *vita*, gamma, delta, epsilon, *zita, ita, thita*, iota, cappa, lambda, *my, ny*, xi, omikron, pi, rho, sigma, *taf, ypsilon*, phi, chi, psi, omega.

“B,” says he, “profertur per v leniter ut Γαβρηλ Gafrül non Gabriel, (observe here the confounding of i and η.) H per i semper legitur,” and so forth. As to the diphthongs, *ai* he pronounces æ; *au*, af; *ei*, i; *eu*, ef; *oi*, i; “*ou* u latinum, quia non habent aliud u Græci nisi diphthongum *ou*.”—The directions of Nicolas Clenardus, another grammarian of the same period, differ but in slight particulars from those of Œcolampadius, as do all those systems which, like theirs, were founded on the practice introduced by Lascaris, Gaza, Bolzanio, and the Greek grammarians of the fifteenth century.

The grammar of Theodore Beza, the *Alphabetum Græcum*,

of Augustus literal translations were abandoned, still their writings for the stage were Greek, as well in style as subject.*

B.C. 81.
A.D.
330.

Their poetry, in like manner, was founded on the same models : that of Lucretius is no more than a metrical embodiment of the philosophy of Epicurus ; Theocritus and Hesiod, Aratus and Homer, were followed by the imitative genius of Virgil ; Anacreon and Pindar, Alcæus and Sappho, were copied by Horace ; Callimachus, Philetas, and the writers of the Alexandrian school, afforded examples to Propertius ; Parthenius and Euphronion, to Ovid and Gallus ; and even in the elegies of Tibullus, one of the most original of the Roman poets,

* Dunlop, v. iii. p. 453.

printed by Stephens, the *Spicilegium Græcum* of Edward Grant, and a variety of others, all which appeared subsequent to those mentioned above, and whilst the controversy was still *undecided*, print *both* systems, but denominate the one the vulgar, and, as they think, corrupt method ; but towards the close of the seventeenth century, or even earlier, the evil was completely abolished, and the class books of both England and the Continent presented merely the reformed alphabet of Erasmus.

I have omitted here a detail, which must have been necessarily tedious, of the arguments adduced by the modern Greeks and their early partisans in support of their system ; but for an ingenious essay on the subject by one of themselves, the reader is referred to the " *Grecian Antiquities*," which I have already quoted, by Γρηγόριος Ιερομόναχος Παλιούρης, printed at Venice in 1815. (Vol. ii. p. 309.)

B.C.31. may be traced an adoption of the ideas of Euripides and Sophocles.* But amongst the Greeks themselves the age of poetry was gone, her epics† and her lyrics were extinct, the spirit of her drama was no more, the genius of her writers aspired no higher than an epigram;‡ and henceforward so barren were her powers of imagination or invention, that geography and chronology,§

* Dunlop, v. iii. p. 311.

† Nestor of Laranda, in Lycaonia, composed, in the beginning of the third century, his *Ἰλίδος λειπογράμματος*, an epic in twenty-four cantos, so arranged that a letter of the alphabet was successively proscribed from each, A from the 1st, B from the 2nd, and so forth; to such puerilities was Grecian genius reduced. Tryphiodorus, an Egyptian, (according to Suidas,) composed, in the fifth century, a *Leipogrammatic Odyssey*, in imitation of the poem of Nestor; but as the work is lost, it is doubtful whether he accurately followed the frivolous example of his original, with regard to all the letters, or, as Eustathius asserts, omitted only Σ throughout the poem. "But how," says M. Schoell, "could he, in this case, spell the name of his hero."

‡ Of these there remain some portions of the works of Polystrates, who flourished at the period of the sack of Corinth; of Archias, the tutor and celebrated client of Cicero; of Asinius Quadratus, who sung the wars of Sylla; of Demetrius, who lived during the Mithridatic insurrection; of Antipater of Thessalonica, in the reign of Tiberius; of Lucilius, in that of Nero; of Leonidas of Alexandria, who, about the close of the first century, composed his *ισοψήφα* epigrams, in which the number of letters in the various distichs were to be equal; and of others less distinguished, whose fragments are preserved in the various Anthologia of the early ages.

§ About 138 B. C. Apollodorus of Athens wrote his

the sciences or sporting,* were selected as subjects for her muse.

B.C.51.
A.D.
330.

Her historians, during the same epoch, bear a like evidence of declining powers; and though their numbers are considerable, but few attained a reputation above mediocrity. Even the accurate and manly Polybius can advance but slight claims to elegance or perspicuity;† and the writings of Diodorus,‡ or Dion,§ must

χρονικά, which was divided into four books, and was literally a chronology in-verse of all the events, from the taking of Troy to the 159th Olympiad. He was likewise the author of a description of the earth, "*Γῆς περίοδος*," in Iambics, which was continued in the same measure by Scymus of Chios, under the title of *περίγησις οἰκουμένης* (80 B. C.) and in Hexameters by Dionysius of Charax, who lived fifty years later.

* Two poems of the second, or commencement of the third century, bear the name of Oppian, but it is not certain whether they be not the productions of two individuals. One in five books is entitled '*Ἀλιευτικά*, or Fishing; and the other, in four, *Κυνηγετικά*, or Hunting.—Fabricius, l. iv. c. xxiv.

† Harles *Introductio in Histor. Ling. Græ. sec. iii. p. 287.* Polybius has been largely borrowed from by Livy without either acknowledgment or comment, farther than a patronizing insinuation, that the historian of Megalopolis was an author *haudquaquam spernendus*.

‡ Diodorus was born at Argyrion, now San Filippo d'Argyre in Sicily, contemporary with Julius and Augustus Cæsar.—Fabricius, *Bib. Græc. l. iii. c. xxx.* Harles *Intro. sec. iii. pp. 308, 311.*

§ Dionysius of Halicarnassus came to Rome in the age of Augustus, where he composed his '*Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία*,

now be sought for the knowledge they unfold, not for that nervous and impassioned style of their immortal prototypes, the mastery of which was necessary to complete the oratorical studies of Demosthenes.* Nearly a century afterwards† appeared Plutarch, the most valuable and interesting of all the writers of antiquity whose labours have survived to us. In a style by no means remarkable for Attic purity or the dignified simplicity of his predecessors, he has embodied in his *Lives* a varied mass of historical facts, illustrative anecdotes, and shrewd speculations upon human nature. His writings exhibit a profundity of erudition, an indomitable industry, and a vehement passion for freedom ; but still, he was rather an observer than a discriminator ; his delineations are seldom sufficiently accurate in all their parts, and the minor points of his characters are continually obscured by the shade of the more prominent and striking traits. Partisanship is distinguishable in all his contrasts ; and even without a knowledge of his country, it would be no difficult matter to discern in his Greek and Roman parallels the birth-

of the twenty books of which, eleven and some fragments are remaining.—Harles Intro. sec. iii. p. 307. Fabricius, l. iii. c. xxxi.

* Demosthenes is said to have studied the harangues of Thucydides with intense care, and to have transcribed the entire history no less than eight times.

† A. D. 50.

place of Plutarch.* Arrian, the disciple of Epictetus, and the imitator of Xenophon, wrote early in the second century his Expedition of Alexander; a work remarkable for accuracy, but devoid of the animated action and dramatic excitement of its splendid model.† Appian, his feeble contemporary, composed a History of Rome, whose fragments are valuable merely as extracts from anterior authorities now extinct; and Dion Cassius, who followed the steps of Polybius, failed to emulate him either in accuracy or elegance.‡ Herodian, in the third century,§ at an advanced age, and in an agreeable retirement, composed his History of the Roman emperors, and in a style characterized by unwonted elegance, aspired to an imitation of Thucydides; but an imperfect knowledge of chronology, and an ignorance of the geographical situation of the countries of which he wrote, cast an air of feebleness and doubt over his productions.|| The names of Pub. Herennius Dexippus, of

* Harles, sec. iv. p. 358. Schoell, l. iv. v. c. liv. Berington, b. i. p. 85. Boeclerus de Scrip. Gr. et Lat. sec. P. C. ii. p. 53. Dalzell, Lect. xxxi. p. iii.

† Schoell, l. v. c. lv. Scriptor est verax, tersus atque elegans, qui Xenophontem non solum imitatus est, unde *Xenophon junior* dicitur, sed ejus quoque virtutes scribendi pœne adsecutus. Harles Intro. sec. iv. p. 372. Berington, B. i. p. 85. Fabricius, l. iv. c. xiv.

‡ Born in Bithynia, A.D. 155. Schoell, b. v. c. lv. Harles, sec. iv. 439.

§ Died A.D. 240.

|| Schoell, l. v. c. lv. Harles, sec. iv. p. 446.

A.D.
50. Callicrates, and Theoclius,* of Phlegon, of Tralles,† of Julius Africanus, with a number of others, live almost solely in the extracts or eulogies of subsequent compilers.

The general characteristic of the Greek writers of this epoch seems, in fact, to have been industry rather than originality; and works of compilation and labour appear to have totally superseded those of imagination or genius. The taste for the *belles lettres*, if I may apply the term, was almost extinct, and the remnant which survived in the *sophistry* ‡ of the period, was calculated neither to exalt nor to refine the people. Oratory, now useless in the Pnyx, had retired to the schools and the courts of justice, and public dissertations on selected subjects occasionally supplied the place of the declining drama as an amusement of the populace; whilst eloquence, robbed of its intrinsic strength, was invested with the mere meretricious ornaments

A.D.
135. of declamation.§ Lucian alone, during this era,

* In the latter end of the third century.

† Fabricius, Bib. Gr. lib. iv. c. xv.

‡ “On nommoit ainsi (sophistes) ceux qui, indépendamment du talent de parler et d'improviser, s'occupaient de ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui belles lettres, à l'exception cependant de la poésie.”—Schoell, vol. iv. p. 207.

§ Amongst the orators of this class whose compositions have been preserved, were, Lesbonax, in the reign of Tiberius, two of whose declamations are extant. (Schoell, l. v. c. lvi.) Dion of Prusa, surnamed Chrysostomos, who flourished at

amidst a host of undistinguished names, has acquired an exalted reputation by his inventive genius, his sparkling wit, his irony, and humour; and his writings, after years of arduous study, appeared in a diction as pure and classic as that of the richest period of Grecian literature.*

A.D.
135.

In addition to his historical labours, rhetoric was successfully studied by Dionysius of Hali-

the close of the first century, and whose discourses are, in point of erudition and elegance, far above the standard of the era in which he lived. (Fabricius, l. iv. c. xii. Harles, sec. iv. p. 348.) Polemon of Laodicea, contemporary with Trajan, Adrian, and the Antonines; Aristides of Bithynia, born about 117 A. D. of whose dissertations fifty-four are preserved: Philostratus of Lemnos, who lived at the close of the third century; Athenæus, the author of the *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, or Banquet of the Sophists; and others of minor note.

* Born at Samosata, in Syria, or rather Assyria, about 135 A. D. The following elegant eulogium is from the pen of Erasmus:—

“Tantum obtinet in dicendo gratiæ, tantum in inveniendi felicitatis, tantum in jocando leporis, in mordendo aceti; sic titillat allusionibus; sic seria nugis, nugas seriis miscet; sic ridens vera dicit, vera dicendo ridet; sic hominum mores, affectus, studia, quasi penicillo depingit, neque legenda, sed plane spectanda oculis exponit, ut nulla comœdia, nulla satyra cum hujus dialogis conferri debeat, seu voluptatem spectes, seu spectes utilitatem.”

Schoell, l. v. c. lvi. Harles, sec. iv. p. 411. Boeclerus, sec. P. C. ii. p. 56. Berington, B. i. p. 85. Fabricius, l. iv. c. xviii.

A.D.
136. carnassus; and under Marcus Aurelius lived its most distinguished cultivator Hermogenes, whose precocious abilities and erudite productions obtained for him the title of the first rhetorician of the age. But a genius of a higher order and more extended powers was the unhappy Longinus. His birth-place was Athens, whence he retired to Palmyra, in order to become the tutor and minister of the Queen Zenobia; and when the city was taken by Aurelian, Longinus was slain by the soldiers of the victorious Roman. As a scholar, posterity have continued to bestow on him the emphatic epithet conferred by Eunapius;* but of his compositions we possess merely enough to cause regret for what has perished,—his treatise *on the Sublime*, which has been justly denominated, at once a masterpiece of philosophy, and a matchless critique on the chefs-d'œuvre of antiquity.†

Geography, which had been raised by Eratosthenes to the rank of a science,‡ was likewise extensively encouraged at Rome; and the example of Strabo (whose system was published about sixty years B. C.) was followed by a number of

* Βιβλιοθήκη τις ἑμφυχός, καὶ περιπατοῦν Μουσείον.

† Fabricius, l. iv. c. xxxiii. Harles, sec. iv. p. 450. Boeclerus, sec. P. C. iii. p. 61. Berington, b. i. p. 87.

‡ Schoell, l. v. c. lxx.

successful students. Pausanias, the first writer of Travels with whom we are acquainted, composed, in the second century, his account of Greece, in a rude and disjointed style; but with a repletion of information which renders it one of the most precious memorials which time has spared to us;* and Ptolemy, who had already distinguished himself as an astronomer, wrote about the same period his treatise on Geography, which for fourteen centuries remained the only popular systematic manual of the science, and is still referred to as the most authentic authority for the geography of the ancients.†

Of the decline of philosophy, the details are too extensive and complicated for brief enumeration, nor would it be generally interesting to trace the rise and fall of the numerous systems springing from the revolutions or combinations of the several sects.‡ The names of Epictetus and Arrian, of Plotinus and Celsus, of Porphyry, Jamblicus, and Panætius, are the most renowned of their several schools; but, of all their productions the Enchiridion of the former alone

* Fabricius, l. iv. c. xvii. Berington, b. i. p. 85. Schoell, l. v. c. lxx.

† Schoell, l. v. c. lxx. Fabricius, l. iv. c. xvi.

‡ See Schoell, *Hist. de la Lit. Gr.* vol. v. Tenneman *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Buhle *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*.

A.D. 150. can still be perused with feelings of admiration and approval.* The union of the Pagan and Christian philosophy in the first century, was likewise productive of some authors of genius and erudition, who learned to defend their own theories by weapons drawn from the armoury of their assailants. Amongst the Greek fathers especially, who had in general received a more literary education than their Latin brethren, the system was adopted with success; and the writings of Justin the Martyr,† (the first who identified the ideas of the Platonists regarding the immortality of the soul with the doctrines of revelation,) of his friend and pupil Tatian, of Clemens Alexandrinus, and his disciple Origen, contributed in no mean degree to recommend Christianity to the heathens, by exhibiting it to them as consonant with the dogmas of their own philosophers.‡

Thus, during the early ages of Grecian servitude, though the overthrow of her independence had withdrawn every powerful stimulant to lite-

* Schoell, l. v. Fabricius, l. iv. c. ix. xxxi. Berington, b. i. p. 85.

† Who flourished at the close of the second or commencement of the third century. The place of his birth is uncertain. He perished 163 A. D. Harles, c. iv. sec. 5. Burtonus, Hist. Ling. Gr. p. 46.

‡ Schoell, l. v. c. lxviii.

rary exertion, there still survived a few to cherish the taste, and admire the productions of their ancestors, though their genius no longer soared in the same majestic flights. Their language, too, was still comparatively pure and susceptible of elegant cultivation, though hastening with the tide of circumstances towards a period of inevitable corruption. But on the removal of the seat of power to the shores of the Bosphorus, a new era, and a totally different order of things commenced. Christianity, which by degrees had towered triumphant over every obstacle, was now established as the religion of the throne; whence its influence, extending over every department of literature and science, superseding some, and communicating a new character to others, eradicated by degrees every trace of the mythology or philosophy of the ancients.

A.D.
150.

The political situation of the empire, likewise, was but little favourable to the growth of letters: ruled as it was by a line of princes devoid of talent, taste, or refinement; ravaged from border to border by successive hosts of rude barbarians; rent into rancorous factions of the church or state, and preserved from annihilation by the conspiring influence of circumstances alone. From the accession of Constantine down to the conquest of the Ottomans, literature was from age to age undergoing a

perceptible decline, commensurate with the progressive degradation of the state; the taste and pursuits of the Greeks becoming impure and frivolous, as the progress of national decay benumbed the energies of the nation, till, in the fulness of political and intellectual corruption, the power and the literature of the empire sunk almost spontaneously into the abyss of ruin.

A.D.
330.

For two centuries after the establishment of the capital at Constantinople, Athens continued to preserve her reputation for literary superiority; her schools were still frequented, and her philosophers could boast amongst the list of their disciples some of the most distinguished names of the age.* Libraries were established at Constantinople by Constantius the son of Constantine, and increased by the munificence of Julian. Philology, eloquence, and poetry, were cultivated in the various schools;† though the latter, declining into mere verbiage, was applied solely for the purposes of court panegyric or pointless epigram.‡ Nor can the belles

* Julian, afterwards surnamed *the Apostate*, who studied at Athens about 350 A.D., Gregory the Nazianzene, Basil of Cæsarea, &c.

† Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Cent. iv. p. i. c. 2. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxix.

‡ The names of Metrodorus, Theon, Christodorus, Nonnus,

lettres be said to have experienced a much better fate ; the commentaries* of Ulpian, in the reign of Constantine, evince a corruption of style so palpable, as to induce a modern critic† to question the period of their composition. Themistius, a senator under Constantius, has however left a body of discourses, political, ethical, and didactic, remarkable for elegance, judgment, and erudition ;‡ and Libanius of Antioch,§ an opponent of christianity, a pupil of the schools of Athens and Constantinople, and subsequently a teacher of eloquence in both, and in the city of his birth, as well as at Nice and Nicomedia, has been characterised as the best orator whom Byzantium has produced.|| His essays and declamations breathe an unusual spirit of erudition and refinement ; and even his oppo-

A.D.
330.

Proclus, Musæus the grammarian, or Tryphiodorus, (whom I have mentioned before, n. p. 84.) who flourished about this period, scarcely deserve the epithet of poets.

* On the Philippics of Demosthenes.

† Chapman. See Demosthenis Philippica oratio prima et Olynthiacæ tres, Gr. et Lat. cum comment. Ulpiani, curâ Rich. Mounteney. Cant. 1731. 8vo.

‡ Fabricius, l. v. c. xliv. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxv. Harles, sec. v. p. 484.

§ Born about 314 A.D.

|| The eulogium of Schoell is somewhat opposed to the opinion of Gibbon, see Decline and Fall, &c. c. xxiv. Fabricius, l. v. c. xliii. Boeclerus, sec. P. C. iv. p. 73. Harles, sec. v. p. 473.

nents, whilst they censure his imagined defects, are compelled to admit, that in a barbarous age, he preserved the Grecian purity of manners, language, and religion.* But these individuals, together with the learned Synesius,† form but bright exceptions in the universal decline of the period, nor can the labours of Proæresius;‡ and Himerius,§ or Ammianus Marcellinus|| suffice to redeem its sinking reputation.¶ The name of

A.D.
378.

* Gibbon, ib. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxv.

† Born at Cyrene in 378 A. D. and in 410 consecrated Bishop of Ptolemais. He has left some Hymns and other verses, a fragment on Government, and several works connected with literature and philosophy. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxii. c. xcii. Boeclerus, sec. P. C. v. p. 75. Harles, c. iv. p. 702. Fabricius, l. v. c. xvii. 2.

‡ A sophist in the reign of Julian, born at Cæsarea. He was a professor in the schools of Athens, and master of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzum. Harles, c. iv. p. 692. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxvii.

§ Successor to Proæresius in the chair of Athens. He was born at Prusa, in 315; about thirty-four of his discourses and declamations, of which twenty-four are perfect, remain. "Son style," says Schoell, "est affecté, rempli d'emphase, et surchargé d'érudition." l. vi. c. lxxv. Harles, sec. v. p. 482.

|| Independently of his Roman history, which is written in Latin, Ammianus cultivated the belles lettres, and has left a Commentary, in his native language, on the Life and Genius of Thucydides, together with some minor fragments of little merit or importance.

¶ Voltaire, *Mélanges philos.* v. ii. du Siècle de Constant. p. 295.

the emperor Julian alone stands in bold relief ^{A.D. 361.} during this era of debasement. Gifted with unwonted talents, and spurred on by an ambition of originality as well as distinction, he succeeded in rendering himself the most extraordinary individual of his age. The profundity of his learning, which might have rendered his writings pedantic or obscure, was tempered by a vivid imagination and a lively wit; and whilst his studies included an infinity of subjects, metaphysics, and morality, theology, poetry, and politics, there was none that did not acquire a charm from the graceful touches of his pen.*

The historians of the *fourth* and *fifth centuries* are neither numerous nor remarkable for genius. Of Praxagoras, who wrote a Life of Constantine the Great, we know nothing save from a feeble extract preserved by Photius; and the valuable Chronicle of Eusebius† now exists merely in the Latin version of St. Jerome, whilst his Ecclesiastical History, though candid and impartial as regards the character of the author, is of questionable accuracy as to many facts which it recounts. Zosimus, of whose origin or

* Harles, sec. v. p. 479. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxii. c. lxxvi. Gibbon, c. xxi. xxii. xxiii. Fabricius, l. v. c. xli.

† Born in Palestine about A.D. 264, died A.D. 340, Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxxii. c. lxxxix. Boeclerus, sec. P. C. iv. p. 68. Harles, c. iv. p. 687. Fabricius, l. v. c. iv.

A.D. 361—
500. life no memorials are now remaining, composed in the fifth century his History of the Empire, from Augustus to Theodosius the younger. His design was to continue the work of Polybius, by an account of the decline of the Roman power, as the former had already commemorated the circumstances of its rise; but as amongst the causes of the decay he had the temerity to specify the introduction of a new religion, his veracity has been vigorously impugned, and not without effect, by the supporters of Christianity. As a compiler, his labours evince intense industry without proportionate judgment, but as a writer, his style (save in the later and unfinished portions of his works) is clear, polished, and when occasion requires it, eloquent and impassioned.*

A.D. 527. The literary interest of the *sixth century* is concentrated almost exclusively in the acts and reign of Justinian, whose measures unfortunately were in the last degree unfavourable to the growth of learning or the advancement of science. Religious polemics, which had already assumed an all-engrossing influence, were under his patronage promoted, till, in the warmth of theological debate, the importance of the vital

* Harles, sec. v. p. 504. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxxiii. Gibbon, c. xvii. n. Berington, b. i. p. 86. Boeclerus, sec. P. C. v. p. 79. Fabricius, l. v. c. v. 21.

principles of Christianity was merged in that of the ill-defined attributes with which fanaticism or priestcraft had invested it. In proportion as the subject of discussion receded from mortal comprehension, the disputations of the rival parties became rancorous and bitter;* argument was spun into fine-drawn subtleties, till the contending factions, entangled each in the meshes of its own involved theories, gave rise to new sects and schisms, and even Justinian himself, after a life of polemical turmoil, died in the estimation of the Church, a heretic.†

A.D.
527.

Whilst his generals were employed in foreign warfare and distant expeditions, the attention

* Hallam, *Hist. Mid. Ages*, c. vi. p. 511.

† Rizo, *Cours*, &c. p. 16. "Justinian," says Gibbon, "was neither steady nor consistent in fixing his volatile opinions and those of his subjects. In his youth he was offended by the slightest deviation from the orthodox line; in his old age he transgressed the measure of temperate heresy, and the Jacobites not less than the Catholics were scandalized by his declaration, that the body of Christ was incorruptible, and that his manhood was never subject to any wants and infirmities, the inheritance of our mortal flesh."—Gibbon, c. xlvii.

This "phantastic opinion" was broached in one of the last edicts of Justinian, and when admonished at the moment of his departure by the Bishop of Treves, to abjure the heresy and recant his errors, he died impenitent and unrelenting.

A.D.
527. of the Emperor was solely confined to the factions of the circus* and the disputations of the Church ;† and the nation, attracted by the royal example, hastened to espouse the same pursuits: whilst every individual of energy or talent thus attracted to the arena of bootless controversy, can be regarded in no other light than as withdrawn from the cause of literature and knowledge.‡ By birth a barbarian, and possessed of no hereditary claim to the exalted honours to which the extraordinary fortunes of Justin his uncle had taught him to aspire, his life was one continued struggle for popularity. In turn, a philosopher, a poet, a theologian, a lawyer, a musician, and an architect, he sought under each character to humour the reigning passion of the day ; nor, amongst his manifold pursuits, does he seem to have adopted any that did not promise to unite ostentation with utility. In compliance with the prevailing taste of the age for architecture, he devoted

* Gibbon, c. xl. sec. ii. Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 16.

† Ibid. c. xlvii.

‡ Berington, app. i. p. 526. It has been well observed by Montesquieu, that it would be as difficult to decide the arguments of churchmen by attending to their affected subtleties, as to abolish duelling by erecting a court with a commission to trace a point of honour through all its refinements.—c. xxii. Gr. et Dec.

to the erection of countless edifices, not only the legal revenues of the kingdom, but the sums extorted by injustice and oppression; and it has been well observed, that the edifices of Justinian were cemented with the blood and treasures of his people.* In order to complete the line of barriers thrown up against the incursions of the barbarians, who despised such powerless bulwarks,† he closed the schools of Athens‡ on the plea of their encouraging heathenism, and applied to the construction of fortresses the stipends allotted by the munificence of former sovereigns to the support of their professors.§ Rusticity and ignorance now rose in rank luxuriance around the deserted seats of the Muses, insulted Science sought a new asylum at the courts of the East, and Athens was gradually abandoned to poverty, obscurity, and decay.

A.D.
527.A.D.
529.

Literature, in such an era, and under such auspices, cannot be supposed to have been cul-

* Montesquieu, *Gran. et Decad.* &c. c. xx. Gibbon, c. xl.

† “The barbarians, in their annual inroads, passed and contemptuously repassed these useless bulwarks; and the inhabitants of the frontier, instead of reposing under the shadow of the general defence, were compelled to guard with incessant vigilance their separate habitation.”—Gibbon.

‡ A. D. 529.

§ Gibbon, c. xl. sec. 7. Mill’s *Theod. Ducas*, vol. i. p. 29. Berington, app. i. p. 518. Rizo, *Cours*, &c. p. 16.

A.D.
529. tivated with ardour ; and in fact, with the exception of the judicial works completed under his own inspection, the age of Justinian can boast but few monuments of learned industry, or literary genius. In these grand undertakings, his efficient agent was Tribonian, of Side, in Pamphylia, a poet, a courtier, a lawyer, and a scholar, on whom devolved the task of collecting and collating all the codes from Hadrian to his own times, which, with the aid of ten associates, he accomplished in fourteen months, and published A. D. 529, under the title of *The Justinian Code*. To this succeeded, in A. D. 533, his Pandects, or digest of all the decisions of previous jurisconsults, as they existed in upwards of two thousand heterogeneous volumes : a labour which occupied him and his colleagues for three years, during which they boasted to have compressed the contents of three millions of lines or sentences into the more compendious compass of one hundred and fifty thousand. At the same time, the Elements, or *Institutes* of Roman Law, were compiled in four books by Tribonian, Theophilus, and Dorotheus ; and these, together with the Novels and Edicts, remain as the most distinguished memorials of the age of Justinian.* During the residue of his administration, however, these labours of

* Gibbon, c. xliv. Schoell, l. vi. c. xcvi.

his distinguished agents were undergoing perpetual alterations, arising from the caprices, the despotism, or the venality of the prince ; and, according to Procopius, each day of the tedious reign of this eminent legislator was marked by some glaring infringement or innovation of his own enactments.*

A.D.
529.

As historians, the names of Procopius and Agathias alone occupy a prominent place in the period of which I speak. The former was born at Cæsarea, in Palestine, in the early part of the sixth century, and after serving under Belisarius in Africa and Italy, became a senator and prefect of Constantinople, an office of which he was deprived by Justinian. His *History of his own Times*, as far as relates to the foreign policy of the age, must be regarded as a work of accuracy and elegance, but its authority is invariably questionable as often as the Emperor, his voluptuous consort Theodora, or the renowned Belisarius, appear upon the scene. Here his pen betrays all the cautious timidity of one who writes under the surveillance of those whose exploits he is narrating ; but in a subsequent volume of *Anecdotes* or *Secret Memoirs*, he does ample justice to the truth, which he had been compelled to outrage in his former production, and represents

* Rizo, Cours, p. 17.

A.D. Justinian in his true character as a hypocrite
559. and charlatan, Theodora as a vindictive voluptuary, and Belisarius the hero of the embattled field, but the slave of an imperious and abandoned wife.* His history was continued by Agathias from A. D. 553 to 559.† The author, who was passionately devoted to poetry,‡ has evinced this partiality by the laboured and flowing decorations of his style; but the work abounds in facts and illustrations of the early manners of the Franks, the Goths, and Persians, which render it valuable and highly interesting.§ Besides these, the names of Paulus Silentarius, an obscure versifier;|| of Quintus of Smyrna, or, as he is more usually styled, *the Calabrian*,¶ a

* Fabricius, l. v. c. v. 3. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxxiii. Harles, sec. v. p. 529.

† A third work of Procopius, *περὶ τῶν τοῦ δεσπότης Ἰουστινιανοῦ κτισμάτων*, treats of the numerous and costly edifices of Justinian.

‡ He wrote some Epigrams, of which about one hundred are extant, but devoid of all terseness or point; and compiled an Anthology, which is now unfortunately lost.

§ Harles, sec. v. p. 533. Berington, app. i. p. 530. Fabricius, l. v. c. v. 4. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxii. c. lxxxvi.

|| Paulus composed in the reign of Justinian several epigrams of indifferent merit, and poems descriptive of the *Pythian Baths* in Bithynia, (see Gibbon, c. xl. sec. i.) the *Cathedral of St. Sophia*, &c. Harles, sec. v. p. 527. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxii. c. lxxiii. c. lxxxvii. Fabricius, l. v. c. v. 5.

¶ So called erroneously by Bessarion, from finding a copy

poet of contemptible powers, who attempted to write a continuation of the Iliad; and of Priscian, whose birth and productions scarcely entitle him to rank among the Greek literati,* are alone worthy of mention in this age of vitiated taste and fanatical corruption.†

A.D.
559.

The death of Justinian produced a pause in the theological warfare that had so long disturbed the tranquillity of the nation; and during the reign of his successors from Justin to Phocas, the church enjoyed an interval of comparative repose. It was, however, but the enervating and sultry calm which precedes the fresh out-bursting of the storm, as the accession of Heraclius in the tenth year of the *seventh* century, was the signal for the re-commencement of hostilities.‡ It is at this epoch that

A.D.
610.

of his works in the monastery of St. Nicolas at Otranto: Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxiii. Harles, sec. v. p. 520.

* Priscian was born at Cæsarea, and his treatise *De arte Grammatica* was adapted to the Latin, not to the Greek tongue. Berington, app. i. p. 530.

† The Anthology of Stobæus, an author whose life and era are unknown, has been generally attributed to the sixth century. See Gibbon, c. liii. Schoell, l. vi. c. xciv. Berington, app. i. p. 570.

‡ During this interval, the Emperor Maurice, a Roman by birth, (Gib. c. xlv.) was distinguished, amongst other estimable qualities, by a love for letters. But his exertions could neither recall the faded genius of the age, nor retard the advance of still darker ruin. Menander, surnamed the Pro-

^{A.D.}_{610.} the period usually denominated "the Middle Ages" is supposed to commence; a melancholy era in the annals of the world, when genius was extinguished, taste polluted, and learning; numbed into a wintry torpor, had retired into cells and seclusion, to await the reviving beams of a more genial sun.*

Scarcely had Heraclius escaped from a menacing struggle with the Persians, when he awoke in his own dominions the smouldering fires of religious controversy, by espousing, through a mistaken policy, the monothelite faction† of the Church. A new impetus was thus communicated to the fury of contending parties, whose discussions continued almost to the commencement of the following century to rend the empire, and engross the attention of all classes of the people. The unwonted ardour with which this controversy was espoused by all ranks, may in some degree be accounted for, by the late suppression of the schools of philosophy by Justinian; and the favourite passion of the Greeks, thus checked in its accustomed course,

tector, a soldier of the guard, who has left some poetry, and a continuation of the History of Agathias, was one of the objects of his bounty.

* This period is likewise considered to be from the fall of the Western to the fall of the Eastern Empire.

† For an account of this controversy, see Gib. c. xlvii.

flowed with a natural impetuosity into fresh channels of disputation and enquiry.* The principal writers of the age were of course those addicted to theology, the subject of popular interest; but even here their works evince a sad decline from the standard of the early champions of the Church, and “a turgid eloquence, and an affected pomp and splendour of style, which cast a perplexing obscurity over subjects in themselves clear and perspicuous,” was the highest point of perfection to which both prose writers and poets aspired.† History was almost totally neglected,‡ and the feeble name of Symocatta§ alone, who lived about A.D. 629, attracts attention from its solitary position on the barren page of the period. Independently of some productions of lighter literature, and an absurd treatise on natural history, he composed an account of the empire from the death of Tiberius II. (A. D. 582) to the murder of Maurice and his children by the tyrant Phocas. It is divided into five books, and though in general weak and pedantic, it occasionally contains passages of eloquence and power.

* Berington, p. 540. † Mosheim, Cent. VII. p. i. c. ii.

‡ Gibbon, c. xlviii. Berington, app. i. p. 541.

§ Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxvii. c. lxxxvi. c. xcvi. Berington, app. i. p. 540. Boeclerus, sec. P. C. vii. p. 85. Harles, sec. v. p. 536. Fabricius, l. v. c. v. 5.

A.D.
610. The monothelite controversy began almost at the same moment when hosts of the Arabs were hovering on the borders of the empire, and commencing that series of expeditions, by which, ere twenty years of the Hegira had elapsed, they possessed themselves, amongst other conquests, of two of the fairest provinces of the empire, Syria and Egypt. It was during these excursions, that the schools of Edesa and Antioch, of Bairout* and Alexandria, were destroyed, and Grecian literature fled before the steps of the victorious Saracens;† and it was then, likewise, that the remnants of the Alexandrian library‡ disappeared. The loss sus-

* The school of Berytus, or Bairout, was celebrated for its proficiency in jurisprudence, and during the reign of Justinian furnished the most able lawyers of Byzantium.

† “Les Musulmans, bien loin de détruire les établissemens qu'ils y trouvèrent, en fondèrent de nouveaux ; mais ces institutions furent dès-lors perdues pour la littérature Grecque.”—Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxi.

‡ It is almost needless to repeat the well-known reply of Omar, when questioned by Amrou, at the solicitation of John the Grammarian, as to how he was to dispose of the literary treasures of Alexandria, after its conquest in 640,—“that they should be destroyed, since, if consonant with the Koran, they were useless, and if opposed to it, pernicious ;” or the fable of their having supplied fuel for six months to the four thousand Baths of the city. The tale owes its popularity to Gregory Bar Hebræus, or Abulfaragius, who inserted it in his Arabic translation of his Syriac *Chronicle* ; but its author

tained by the literary world in the destruction of the latter, has been, no doubt, infinitely exaggerated ;* but a matter of more serious consequence to the interests of learning, arising from the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, was the suspension of the manufacture of paper from papyrus, which ensued : parchment, a more expensive material, was now adopted generally by the copyists of books, whose value was increased in proportion to their consequent rarity. In this emergency, the erasure of ancient and valuable manuscripts was introduced by the impoverished and ignorant monks, and some of the brightest productions of former ages disappeared in their palimpsests, in order to make room for the ravings of theologians, or the annals of ecclesiastical warfare.†

A.D.
640.

was Abdollatif, an Arabian writer of the thirteenth century, but anterior to Abulfaragius. Being mentioned by no Christian authorities, as well as involving a manifest falsehood in its details, since the number of books after so many conflagrations, and their dispersion scarcely a century before by Theophilus, (Gib. c. xxviii.) could not possibly equal the report of Abdollatif, the veracity of the story may be justly questioned ; but there is no doubt as to the fact of the dispersion of the library, small and valuable as it must have been, about the period mentioned.

* Gibbon, c. li.

† The Arabs, however, made ample restitution for this.

A.D. 646. The quick succession of these revolutions, and the commotions at Constantinople at the close of the seventh century, amply account for the blank which appears during this era in the annals of literature; nor were the events of the succeeding age more favourable to intellectual advancement.

A.D. 717. The *eighth century* is, in fact, the blackest in the history of the Eastern empire. During a brief portion of its commencement, the exhausted virulence of polemical disputation seemed verging towards extinction, when all at once a fresh crater burst into vigorous action in the celebrated ikonoclastic commotions, which rendered the literary history of nearly two centuries almost an absolute blank, "whilst a savage ignorance and contempt for letters disgraced the princes of the Heracleian and Isaurian dynasties." The

early injury, by introducing into Spain the manufacture of paper from cotton. About the beginning of the eighth century, they brought it from Great Bucharía, but it had been known for many centuries previous in Upper Asia. They established a manufactory at Ceuta, whence it was transported to Spain, together with the culture of cotton; and in the eleventh century, the invention or application of water-mills caused a material superiority in the Spanish paper above that of Bucharía, which, owing to the want of machinery, was rough and unfinished. From Spain it was introduced in Germany and the West of Europe, where it gradually attained its present degree of perfection.

remnant of talent surviving to the nation was devoted exclusively to the furtherance of the all-absorbing contest ; and “ frigid homilies, insipid narrations of the exploits of pretended saints, vain and subtle disputes about unessential and trivial subjects, vehement and bombastic declamations for or against the worship and erection of images,” composed the circle of literature in this degenerate and miserable age.* The fury of the disputants, equally levelled against art and learning, annihilated with an unsparing hand the monuments of both ; and Leo the Isaurian has been accused of destroying, in his pious frenzy, the Royal College, or Octagon, of Constantinople, where the cultivators of letters had found a refuge on their expulsion from Syria and Egypt by the Saracens. The library attached to this institution had formerly suffered by conflagration in the short reign of Basiliscus,† when the celebrated manuscript of the Iliad and Odyssey, transcribed on the entrails of a serpent one hundred and twenty feet in length, was destroyed. At the period when it was assailed by the Ikonoclasts, it was still said to contain upwards of 20,000 volumes, which were under the guardianship of

A.D.
717.

* Hallam, *Hist. Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. c. ix. p. 618. Gibbon, c. liii. Mosheim, *Cent. VIII.* p. i. c. 2.

† A. D. 679.

A.D. 717. the president of the college and his twelve assistants. It was in vain that Leo, by entreaty and by threats, endeavoured to secure their co-operation in his plans of reformation; and at length, wearied with the profitless attempt, he ordered the Octagon to be surrounded with dried piles, and consumed in the flames the refractory professors together with their literary treasure.* The names of two individuals alone in this gloomy century have descended to posterity with any thing like distinction: George Syncellus,† whose Chronicle from the creation of the world to the reign of Diocletian, is valuable for its arrangement, but evinces neither originality nor elegance;‡ and John of Damascus, a theologian and philosopher, whose early erudition may in a great degree be attributed to his residence among the Saracens, who were then masters of the city of his birth, and were eagerly employed in transfusing into their own language the neglected learning of the Greeks.§

* This charge against the Emperor has given rise to much discussion as to its authenticity; see Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxix. n. Berington, app. i. p. 545. Gibbon, c. liii. n.

† Died about A. D. 800.

‡ Fabricius, l. v. c. iv. 38. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxxv. Berington, app. i. p. 549. Harles, sec. v. p. 538.

§ Greek literature was in another direction a sufferer from the literary propensities of the Arabs, as during this period

John was violently opposed to the proceedings of the Ikonoclasts, and having condemned them in his writings, was denounced by Leo to the Kalif Abd'ul Melik I. in consequence of which he was forced to retire into Palestine, where he terminated his literary career about A. D. 754. His productions evince a shrewd and accurate judgment, and his style and mode of reasoning render him a phenomenon of learning, when compared with the theologians of the West.*

A. D.
754.

It is during the *ninth century*, and especially towards the close, that we begin to perceive the first symptoms of an incipient revival in the literature of the Greeks,† which may in some degree be attributed to a spirit of rivalry excited by the advancing intelligence of the Arabs. During the reign of the emperor Theophilus, a Grecian soldier, who had been captured by the Kalif Al Mamoun, astonished the sages of Bagdad by the profundity of his astronomical and astrological knowledge; but their surprise

A. D.
829.

many of the works of the ancient Greeks were carried for translation into Arabia, and never returned; their contents alone surviving in the versions of Arabs.

* Schoell, l. vi. c. xciv. Harles, sec. v. p. 541, chap. iv. p. 714.

† Gibbon, c. liii. Mill's Theo. Ducas, vol. i. p. 21. Mosheim, Cent. IX. p. i. c. 2.

A.D. **829.** was unbounded when he informed them, that he was merely the pupil of a master who dwelt in obscurity and penury at Byzantium. This philosopher was Leo, of Constantinople, who supported himself by instructing a few scholars in a hovel at the capital. He was forthwith invited by the kalif to visit Bagdad, but not daring to depart without the permission of the emperor, Al Mamoun applied to Theophilus to obtain his consent. "Deploring," he said, "the position in which it had pleased providence to place him, which deprived him of the power of visiting the dominions of the emperor; as a friend, rather, he would say, as a pupil, he besought him to grant him an opportunity of conversing, were it but for a few days, with the prodigy of philosophy who then graced his dominions; and trusted, that a difference of religion would be no obstacle to granting a favour, to which he hoped his rank would sufficiently entitle him. You will not," continued the kalif, "in conferring on me this honour, diminish in any degree your own; for learning, like the beams of the sun, can be infinitely distributed without being diminished. But I will, nevertheless, repay you for the concession, and promise you in return two thousand pounds of gold, and what is more estimable still, peace and an eternal alliance."

To this singular request, Theophilus returned a rude refusal, adding, "That the sciences, which had conferred a lustre on the Roman name, were not to be imparted to barbarians."* A.D.
829.

His pride, however, was aroused, on contrasting his own degraded taste with that of the lordly Arab; and the humble pedagogue, whose fame spread so far, was drawn from his seclusion, and placed at the head of a seminary which the emperor established in the palace of Magnaura.† He was subsequently promoted to the archbishopric of Thessalonica; but forced, on the condemnation of the ikonoclastic controversy, in A. D. 849, to return to his former professorship at Constantinople. Of the productions of Leo, nothing now remains to attest the justice of the high reputation he enjoyed; but perhaps the surest test of his merit was his being chosen by Bardas, the uncle of Michael III. to assist him in his efforts for the revival of letters during the reign of his nephew.

Devoted solely to the pursuit of pleasure, A.D.
829. this flagitious prince abandoned to his relative all the cares of government; and Bardas, though of mean acquirements himself, had learned to

* Schoell, l. vi. c. xci. Berington, app. i. p. 553.

† Gibbon, c. liii. attributes the opening of this seminary to Bardas. We have to regret that his sketch of the literary history of the Greeks is so brief and imperfect.

A.D.
842. appreciate them in others. Aware of the ignorance in which the measures of former sovereigns, and in particular Michael the Stammerer, had plunged the mass of the nation; and stung with envy by the lustre of science then dawning round the throne of the Kalifs, his earliest efforts were strenuously devoted to the establishment of seminaries of education, and the revival of learning. In this generous effort his earliest assistants were Leo, and his contemporary John Lecanomante, a man of deep erudition and extensive power, who had been raised by Theophilus to the patriarchal chair, in **A. D. 832.***

But a more energetic, though, perhaps, not equally successful agent, was the renowned Photius, who occupies so prominent a position in the ecclesiastical affairs of the ninth century.† After enjoying some of the most important offices of the state, this distinguished layman **A.D.**
858. was nominated by Bardas, in **A. D. 858**, patriarch of Constantinople; and after a stormy and turbulent life, he died‡ in obscurity, in a monastery in Armenia, whither he had been banished by Leo the Philosopher, son to the Emperor Basil. The character of Photius has been assailed with all the venom of priestly hatred; but notwithstanding their bitterest revilings,

* Schoell, vol. vii. p. 299, n.

† See Gibbon, c. lx.

‡ **A. D. 891.**

his opponents have admitted that he was a proficient in every science and accomplishment of the age, and that, in vastness of intellect and profundity of knowledge, he left his most exalted rivals immeasurably behind.

A.D.
858.

Whilst serving as commander of the imperial guard, he employed the leisure of an embassy, on which he was dispatched to Bagdad, in the composition of his *Myriobiblon*, or *Library*, which, we learn from its title,* he undertook for the information of his brother Tarasius. In this extraordinary compilation, though thrown together without the least regard to chronology, order, or arrangement, he criticised, condensed, or made extracts from, the works of two hundred and eighty authors, as well Pagan as Christian, historians, philosophers, orators, romancers, geometricians, and geographers, of whom from seventy to eighty now exist merely in the eulogy or excerpts of Photius.†

Such was the individual whom Bardas se-

* Ἀπογραφὴ καὶ συναρίθμησις τῶν ἀνογνωσμένων ἡμῶν βιβλίων, ὧν εἰς κεφαλαιώδη διάγνωσιν ὁ ἡγαπημένος ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Ταρασιὸς ἐξηγήσατο. ἵστί δὲ ταῦτα εἴκοσι θεοντων ἐφ' ἐνὶ τριακόςια.

† Besides his *Library*, Photius composed a Glossary (*Λέξων Συνομογῆ*) of indifferent merit, an Abridgment of the Seven Ecumenic Councils, and a Nomocanon, or Digest of the Ecclesiastical Laws. Harles, sec. v. p. 542. Boeclerus, sec.

A.D. 854. lected as his colleague in the grand work of reformation ; but, unfortunately, the success of the effort was by no means commensurate to the splendour of the means employed. The talents of Photius, amidst a host of furious and illiterate enemies, were more likely to generate envious opposition, than to attract imitation ; the spark of taste or genius, if it still survived, was buried beneath the mass of religious fanaticism ; and the generous qualities of the ancient Greeks had disappeared, whilst their representatives merely retained the vanity, the fickleness, the bad faith, and crouching subserviency, with which the Romans had stigmatized their fathers.

A.D. 886. The most favourable instances of the success of Photius were exhibited by his pupils, Leo the Philosopher, and his son, Constantine VI. Porphyrogenitus, whose reigns form the most prosperous era in the literary history of Greece.* The former, having cultivated the belles lettres with indifferent success,† applied himself with assiduity to the completion of the judicial

P. C. viii. p. 88. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxx. c. lxxxix. c. xcvi. Berington, app. i. p. 554. Fabricius, l. v. c. 35. Harris's Philological Inquiries, p. iii. c. iv.

* Gibbon, c. liii.

† Independently of the *Χρησμοί*, or Oracles, attributed (doubtfully) to Leo, he has left some lines on the Fall of Greece, some hymns, nine epigrams, and a few *Καπνίστοι*, or

code commenced by his father, in order to clear away the confusion and contradictions which had collected round that of Justinian. This arduous task was completed by Leo and his assistants, and published in A. D. 886; but so rapid were the changes in the laws and constitution of the empire, that ere twenty years had elapsed, a second revision was undertaken by his son Constantine, which is the work still known by the title of the *Basilics*.*

A.D.
886.

In this degenerate century, few names, save those I have enumerated, attract the attention of the investigator: the *Chronicle* of Syncellus† was continued by Theophanes the Isaurian;‡ John of Antioch, surnamed Malala, compiled a history, from the creation to A. D. 556, valuable merely for its extracts from authors who have perished; and Nicephorus, who was patriarch in A. D. 815, evinced considerable talent in the composition of a similar work,

retrograde verses; that is, presenting two sentences when read from right to left, and left to right. He was likewise author of a compiled work on tactics.

* Βασιλικαὶ διατάξεις.

† See p. 112.

‡ Born at Constantinople, or, according to Harles, at Samothrace; but so called, perhaps, from his father. He died about 817, A. D.—Harles, sec. v. p. 539. Berington, app. i. p. 549. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxxv. Fabricius, l. v. c. iv. 38.

A.D. 886. continued to his own times.* In works of imagination or originality, in aught that might evince some lingering vestiges of ancient genius or cultivated taste, the records of the ninth century are a blank.

"The *tenth century* has generally been considered the darkest in the modern annals of the human race;† but still, amongst the Greeks, though no productions of genius were as yet emanating from the labours of Bardas and his associates, the impulse communicated by them continued for a time silently to urge its way.

A.D. 911. The life of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,‡ which was spent in almost unbroken seclusion, whilst the affairs of his empire were con-

* Harles, sec. v. p. 540. Berington, app. i. p. 550. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxxv. Fabricius, l. v. c. iv. 39.

† Mill's Theod. Ducas, vol. i. p. 17.

‡ There is some confusion about the affix to the name of this individual, who is indifferently styled Constantine VI. and VII. It arises either from including in the list the soldier who was, in A.D. 407, proclaimed emperor by the legions in Britain, under the title of Constantine, (Gibbon, c. xxx. c. xxxi.) or from the successor of Heraclius bearing the two names of Heraclius II. and Constantine III. which have been severally applied to him by his historians. Gibbon adopts the latter, (c. xlvi.) and consequently styles the son of Leo the Philosopher, of whom I speak, Constantine VII.; but his best distinction is, perhaps, the epithet of Porphyrogenitus, which the same historian says he was *the first* to bear. (Gibbon, ib.)

ducted by his guardians, or usurping relatives, ^{A.D. 911.} was one continued series of study and literary labour. History, morals, polite literature, and the fine arts,* alternately engaged his attention; but as his devotion to such pursuits arose in a great degree from a lethargic and luxurious temperament, which shunned more active exertion, his success was never striking. For the intellectual advancement of the nation, however, his laudable exertions were unremitting, and every branch of popular instruction received a ready patronage under the protection of Constantine.†

* “Devoid of that energy of character which could emerge into a life of action and glory, the studies which had amused and dignified his leisure, were incompatible with the serious duties of a sovereign. . . . His books and music, his pen and his pencil, were a constant source of amusement; and if he could improve a scanty allowance by the sale of his pictures, if their price was not enhanced by the name of the artist, he was endowed with a personal talent which few princes could employ in the hour of adversity.”—Gibbon. Berington, app. i. p. 564.

† “Il mit un grand zèle au rétablissement des sciences et des arts, et tacha de procurer à la jeunesse studieuse d'habiles maîtres de philosophie, de rhétorique, de géométrie, et d'astronomie. Des personnes distinguées par leur rang et leur expérience furent choisies pour surveiller ces études. Il témoignoit publiquement le cas qu'il faisoit de l'instruction, en encourageant par des éloges et des récompenses ceux qui avoient de succès, et en choisissant dans la classe des

A.D. 911. The works of the Emperor himself, though remarkable when considered in connection with the age in which he lived, and the circumstances under which he wrote, evince but little of either taste or judgment. His life of his grandfather, Basil the Macedonian, is pompous and oratorical,* and the reputation of his numerous other productions is equally mean. The reader will find an equitable estimate of his merits, in the criticisms of Gibbon,† on his Treatise on Government, his detail of the frivolous and contemptible ceremonies of the Byzantine court,‡ and his statistical account of the imperial Themes. The works on medicine, agriculture, and tactics, composed under his in-

hommes lettrés les fonctionnaires et les prélats. Il aimoit les arts, et surtout l'architecture et la sculpture : il se connoissoit en musique," &c. &c. Schoell, v. vi. p. 19.

* Genesius, by the request of Constantine, prepared, as an introduction to the biography of Basil, an historical account of the empire during the reign of the four preceding princes, from A.D. 813; and a continuation was added by an anonymous writer, containing the lives of Leo the Philosopher, Alexander, his brother, Constantine himself, and his son, Romanus II. that is, from A. D. 886 to 963. Berington, app. i. p. 565. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxxvi.—Harles, sec. v. p. 550. Fabricius, l. v. c. 5. xvii.

† Gibbon, c. liii.

‡ The authorship of these works is *doubtfully* attributed to Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

spection, are equally feeble and valueless; and his revision of the Basilica has been characterised as a mere "partial and mutilated version in the Greek language, of the laws of Justinian." A.D.
529.

The merits of Constantine are to be grounded, however, less on his acts than his intentions; since even those measures which he adopted as conducive to the advancement of learning, proved in numerous instances highly prejudicial to its interests. Such was his classified compilation* of extracts in imitation of the Myriobiblon of Photius: it consisted of fifty-three books, each comprehending excerpts on a particular subject connected with history, morals, and legislation, geography, agriculture, and science: works of general utility alone were admitted, and those of imagination or invention were carefully excluded. Of this grand work, two chapters alone, the twenty-seventh and fiftieth, remain: the one comprising notices of the embassies† which the Romans dispatched or received; and the other, on virtue and vice,‡ consists of quotations and fragments from the sophists and historians of the early ages. The effects of this undertaking, it has been observed, were calculated, in that barbarous era, to

* *Κεφαλαιώδης ὑπόθεσις*, so called by its editor, Theodosius.

† *Περὶ Πρεσβειῶν*.

‡ *Περὶ Ἀρετῆς καὶ Κακίας*.

A.D.
911. engender a disregard for the originals, whilst the extracts were so well suited to the indolent and illiterate taste of the age; and whilst the nation rested content with the superficial gleanings of Constantine, the richer sources of information were unvalued, neglected, and lost.*

The time, in fact, was passed when learning could charm, or genius rouse, the ambition of the Greeks; politically and intellectually, they were sunk almost beyond redemption, and their unresisting submission to the absolute despotism of their princes† was heightened by a depressing consciousness of the debasement in which they were plunged, and from which they despaired of again receding. Like the reckless criminal, who would check the occasional bitings of remorse by destroying every memorial of former innocence, they sought, by abandoning the name of Greeks, which they felt they had dishonoured, to stifle their regrets, and hide their degradation by assuming that of Romans. But even this title, likewise, had become contemptible in the eyes of the world: and in the same century of which I speak, the petulant

* Mosheim, Cent. X. p. i. c. ii.

† The legislative and executive power were centred in the person of the monarch, and the last remains of the authority of the senate were finally eradicated by Leo the Philosopher.—Gibbon.

ambassador of a German prince dared to tell the Emperor of the East,* that the deepest insult which the nations of Western Europe could inflict upon their enemies, was to call them Romans: a name expressive of all that was base, avaricious, dastardly, false, and ignoble.†

A.D.
968.

* Nicephoras Phocas.

† “Quod nos Longobardi, scilicet Saxones, Franci, Lotharingi, Bavarii, Suevi, Burgundiones, tanto dedignamur, ut inimicos nostros commoti, nihil aliud contumeliarum nisi Romane dicamus: hoc solo, id est Romanorum nomine, quicquid ignobilitatis, quicquid timiditatis, quicquid avaritiæ, quicquid luxuriæ, quicquid mendacii, omne quicquid vitiorum est comprehendente.” Luitprand. in Leg. ad. Ni. Phocam.

“In the lowest period of degeneracy and decay,” says Gibbon, “the name of *Romans* adhered to the last fragments of the empire of Constantinople;” and to the present, the countries of Thrace, and the northern provinces of Greece, retain in the name of Roumelia the title conferred on them by the Byzantine Emperors.

“La Romanie s'appelloit anciennement Thrace, mais Constantin transferant le siège de l'Empire à Constantinople, qu'il nomma *Rome la Neuve*, voulut aussi que le país d'alentour s'appellast *Romaine*. Depuis les Turcs ayant commencé leurs conquestes en Europe, par cette Province se sont presque servis du mesme nom, et l'ont appelée *Romeli*: mais sans se restreindre aux limites de la Romaine, ils ont appelé Romeli la pluspart de ce qu'ils ont conquis dans l'Europe: de sorte qu'aujourd'huy ils comprennent sous ce nom toutes les terres qui sont sujettes au Beglerbey de la Grèce, dont j'ay parlé cy-dessus.” Beauveau, Voyage de Levant, p. 81. Paris, 1619. De La Guilletiere, *Lacedemone* Anc. et Nou. vol. i. p. 69.

- A.D.
968. The successors of Constantine inherited neither the taste, the gentle dispositions, nor the literary ambition of their predecessor. The reign of Phocas was productive of no works of even ordinary talent; and Basilius II. whose life extended into the succeeding century, so far from promoting the cause of learning, declared it "a useless and profitless pursuit;"* and sought merely to perpetuate that night and ignorance into which, since the accession of Romanus II. the nation had gradually relapsed.†
- A.D.
1028. The death of Constantine IX. the imperial colleague of Basilius, in the twenty-eighth year of the *eleventh century*, concluded a reign which has been well denominated the longest and most ignoble in the Byzantine history. His successors, down to the deposition of Michael Stratioticus, and the commencement of the Comnenian dynasty,‡ were a line of
- A.D.
1057.

* Zonaras, Annal. l. iii.

† Amongst the writers of this century, I should have mentioned Simeon the Metaphrast, who composed, at the desire of Constantine, a history of the lives of the saints, distinguished by much eloquence and a highly polished diction, but replete with fable and improbable traditions.—Gibbon, c. liii. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxxv. Berington, app. i. p. 568.

Suidas, too, the Lexicographer, of whose life or history little or nothing is known, has sometimes been placed in the tenth century.

‡ A.D. 1057.

sovereigns for whom contempt has scarcely a fitting epithet, and during whose reigns "the Greeks, degraded below the common line of servitude, were transferred, like a herd of cattle, by the choice or caprice of two impotent females."* The empire, in the mean time, was hasting rapidly to decay, its provinces invaded by foreign enemies, and its domestic tranquillity destroyed by perpetual commotions, conspiracies, and seditions, as the factions of the populace or the palace alternately decided the successions of the throne.†

A.D.
1057.

The reign of Isaac Comnenus, though friendly to literature and science,‡ was too brief to be productive of any important results to his country; but on his retirement from the cares of royalty, his patriotism impelled him, in selecting his successor, to nominate not a prince of his own blood, but one from whose tried abilities he was led to anticipate advantages to the empire. The object of his choice was Constantine Ducas, who, though destitute of learning himself, was so devotedly its admirer, as to declare, that, in his eyes, the crown of eloquence was superior to that of empire.‡

A.D.
1059.

* Zoe and Theodora, daughters of Constantine IX.—Gibbon.

† Mosheim, Cent. XI. p. 1. c. 2.

‡ Zonaras, Annal. l. iii.

A.D.
1069. The declaration was, perhaps, insincere; but its avowal served to prove that, by whatsoever motives he may have been actuated, or how far soever he may have sacrificed his imperial duties to unimportant pursuits,† he was still prepared to patronise and reward the cultivation of letters.

A.D.
1067. Whatever frivolities may have been attached to the character of Ducas, descended unimpaired to his son and successor Michael VII. This weak and contemptible monarch, whose vices and failings were fostered rather than subdued by his intercourse with his tutor, the celebrated Psellus the younger, has left behind him merely the reputation of pedantry unredeemed by talent, and seems to have been destined by nature for the cloister, to which he finally retired. Whilst the armies of the triumphing Turks were invading the provinces of his empire, Michael, devoted solely to the search after knowledge, sat with his sage preceptor engaged in polishing puerile and senseless verses, balancing points of grammatical

• Zonaras, Annal. l. iii.

† “ In the labour of puerile declamations he sought, without obtaining, the crown of eloquence, more precious in his opinion than that of Rome; and in the subordinate functions of a judge, he forgot the duties of a sovereign and a warrior.”
—Gibbon, c. xlviii.

expression, or practising the art of rhetorical declamation. But these were not the individuals under whom learning was to flourish, or genius to revive; nor was it such protection which the exigencies of the age demanded.

A.D.
1067.

The Comnenian family returned to the throne in A. D. 1081, on the investiture of Alexius Comnenus, the nephew of Isaac, with the purple. Though a patron of letters, and possessed of a mind cultivated in the highest degree, his reign rolled past without any grand or general amelioration in the intellectual condition of his people; and the members of his own family are almost the only individuals whose productions have graced the literary history of his age. This, however, is readily accounted for, by the frightful crisis in which he found the affairs of his dominions. In the East, the victorious Turks had spread from Persia to the Hellespont the reign of the Koran and the Crescent; and in the West, the banner of the Cross was displayed by the Latins; "Europe was precipitated upon Asia," and Constantinople was beset by myriads of illiterate and semibarbarous schismatics, from whom civilization had every thing to dread and nought to hope for. Thus, engrossed by foreign conquest and domestic policy, the minor interests of the state

A.D.
1081.

A.D. 1081. were comparatively neglected; and the fame acquired by Alexius from his shrewd diplomacy and prudent administration, is somewhat dashed by the imputation of habitual hypocrisy and religious intolerance.

Independently of the productions of Psellus, whose reputation has in some degree acquired a fictitious brilliancy from the dark foil of ignorance by which it is surrounded, the annals of this century can boast but few monuments of genius. This distinguished scholar, who has been honoured by his admirers with the title of "the Prince of Literature," was born of a patrician family at Constantinople, about A. D. 1020, and after a long life devoted to letters and study, during which he had enjoyed the patronage of numerous emperors, he was finally disgraced by Alexius Comnenus, and died in obscurity. His prolific pen was employed on a multiplicity of subjects, the sciences, philosophy, theology, history, oratory, medicine; and from the infinite variety of his pursuits, he has been denominated by his contemporaries *Polygraphes*. His writings, of which a portion only has been printed, evince a profundity of attainment, a clearness of intellect, and an elegance of diction, that entitle him to rank, not only above all the literati of

his age, but even amongst those of a more enlightened era.* A.D.
1081.

About the close of the century, the Chronicle of Theophanes† was continued by John Scylitza,‡ who had previously filled a number of the lofty-sounding offices under the Byzantine court, and who afterwards produced an historical epitome, of some repute as a compilation, of the affairs of the kingdom, from the reign of Michael I. to the accession of the Comneni. Of this latter work, a monk of the same age, George Cedrenus,§ has made liberal use in his Chronicle from the origin of the world to the same period,—a composition abounding with fables, which could only have been promulgated in an age as deficient in judgment as vitiated in taste.

To the last hours of his existence, Alexius had been importuned by his wife Irene to alter

* Berington, app. i. p. 576. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxiv. c. lxxxvi. c. xciv. c. xcvi. Gibbon, c. xlviii. Harles, sec. v. p. 557. Fabricius, l. v. c. 28. Harris, p. iii. c. iv. p. 290.

† See p. 119. Harles, sec. v. p. 556.

‡ Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxxv. Berington, app. i. p. 580.

§ Boeclerus, sec. P. C. xi. p. 91. Berington, app. i. p. 580. Schoell, l. vi. c. lxxxv. Harles, sec. v. p. 555. Fabricius, l. v. c. iv. 40.

A.D.
1118. the succession in favour of her youngest daughter Anna; but his stubbornness or probity was proof against every entreaty, and in A. D. 1118 he bequeathed the throne to John, the eldest of his surviving sons, the best and greatest of the Comneni. Foiled in her intrigues, the Princess and her husband Nicephorus Bryennius conspired against her brother; but the plot having failed through the scruples or weakness of her colleague, she owed her life to the magnanimity of the Emperor.* Stung with indignation rather than remorse, she accepted of his pardon, but in terms which bespoke the boldness of her character; she exclaimed that nature, in the formation of herself and her husband, had mistaken the sexes, and endowed Bryennius with the soul of a woman. She continued to reside at the court till the death of Nicephorus, in A. D. 1137, when, having lost her best protector, and wearied with the world, she retired to a convent, and devoted the residue of her days to the composition of a memoir of her father.

This monument of filial tenderness, entitled the *Alexiad*, was the continuation of a history of the house of the Comneni, undertaken by her husband at the request of Irene, and continued

* Gibbon, c. xlviii.

till the accession of his father-in-law. Of her qualifications for the task, Anna speaks with confidence in her preface. "I," says she, "the child of an emperor, born and educated in the purple, no stranger to literature, but on the contrary, having sought with ardour to attain perfection in the graces of my native language, and having cultivated rhetoric, philosophy, and the sciences which strengthen the mind, (for thus may I, without an imputation of vanity, speak of those attainments for which I am indebted to heaven, to my own perseverance, and the aid of circumstances,) have undertaken to commemorate the deeds of my father, which merit not forgetfulness, nor to be swept by the tide of time into the ocean of oblivion." With this conception of her acquirements, Anna commenced and completed the life of her parent; a work whose analysis well displays the several traits which distinguished the mind of its author,—vanity, ambition, affection, and feebleness. Her style, though often graceful and polished, is flowery and poetic to excess, evincing the importance which she attached to having, as she herself observes, attuned her tongue to tones of Attic elegance; and her work, though interesting and valuable on the whole, must be read with caution, and a due

A.D.
1118.

A.D. 1118. allowance for the foibles and feelings of its royal compiler.*

The reign of John Comnenus, or, as he was ironically termed in allusion to his personal ugliness, Calo John, is the most distinguished in the Byzantine annals; under his conduct the prowess of the Greeks seemed to have acquired a new and healthy vigour, and, perhaps, the greatest frailty of his character was an undue partiality for arms and military renown. Throughout his dominions he abolished the punishment of death, and seemed desirous to establish his authority not by terror but by kindness. During an administration of five-and-twenty years, his tranquillity was unbroken by conspiracies or rebellion, and his virtues and honourable qualities have obtained for him the title of the Marcus Aurelius of Byzantium.

Zonaras, an officer of the imperial guard, whom domestic sorrows had driven for solace to

* Harles, sec. v. p. 560. Schoell, l. vi. c. 86. Fabricius, l. v. c. v. 9.

Another royal author of this age was Isaac, brother to Anna, who, besides some unpublished Homeric Scholia, has left a work entitled, "*Characters of the Greeks and Trojans who shared in the War of Troy*," in which he describes, not the mental peculiarities of his heroes, but the complexion, constitution, figures, and powers of each. He was likewise author of a treatise on the omissions (*παραλειφθέντα*) of Homer.—Schoell, l. vi. c. 79.

the seclusion of a monastery, wrote, in his reign, ^{A.D. 1118.} his *Annals*, from the earliest ages of the world to the accession of Calo John, a production of high importance, as containing in its earlier pages extracts from the works of authors who have perished, and in its later details the personal evidence of the author. Owing to its necessary brevity, it is frequently imperfect and obscure; a defect which Zonaras attributes in his apology to the deficient and often conflicting evidence from whence he derived his materials.* But, almost with this solitary exception, letters, even under a prince so distinguished, were languishing and neglected; and however the study of their ancient language may have formed a portion of the educational studies of a few, we can trace no evidence of a living and healthy literature during the period of his government.

Manuel, the youngest son and successor of ^{A.D. 1143.} Calo John, seems to have owed his elevation to the throne, to the possession of those manly and warlike qualities which distinguished his father. His long and disturbed reign was a series of vicissitudes and war, during which he exercised his arms on Mount Taurus, in the plains of Bulgaria, on the coasts of Greece, and

* Berington, app. i. p. 589. Schoell, l. vi. c. 84. Harles, sec. v. p. 558. Fabricius, l. v. c. iv. 40. c. 33.

A.D.
1148. on the seas of Sicily and Egypt. His intervals of repose were devoted to the profitless but still popular pursuits of theology and polemics; and when again, in A.D. 1147, the empire was overrun by a fresh host of Crusaders, more formidable still than their predecessors, he treated them with the same policy and prudence which had marked the conduct of Alexius. Amidst these commotions, and the atrocities which, in the close of this century, marked the Constantinopolitan annals, it is vain to expect the patronage, or search for the productions, of learning.* That a taste for the study of the ancient Greek still existed, even during this gloomy era, is, however, attested by the number of scholiasts who flourished under the five succeeding princes; and the labours of Eustathius and the Tzetzes, whilst evincing this prevalent disposition to reading and inquiry, argue, at the same time, the total corruption of the popular dialect of the day.

The works of Constantine Manasses, who, about the middle of this century, produced his Metrical Chronicle, and tale of Aristander and

* From this censure almost the only exception is that of Cinnamus the historian, who composed a life of Calo John and Manuel, one of the most valuable volumes in the Byzantine Collection.

Callithea,* have been cited as the earliest specimens extant of the accentual versification, which, at a remote period, superseded the use of quantity in Grecian poetry.† Examples, however, long antecedent to Manasses, are still to be found, and the verses of Simeon Metaphrastes, quoted by Leo Allatius,‡ and attributed to the ninth century,§ are as perfect in their formation and peculiarities as those of Manasses. It has not been ascertained with accuracy at what time the substitution of accent for quantity took place amongst the Latins; but the verses of Commodianus, which have been assigned to the fifth and even to the third century, attest|| the early introduc-

A.D.
1143.

* Schoell, l. vi. c. 74, 85. † Leake's Researches, p. 72.

‡ In his *Diatriba de Simeonum Scriptis*, Paris, 1664. See Langius, *Introd.* p. 8.

§ Allatius places Metaphrastes about A.D. 850. Schoell, who assigns to him a rather later period, makes no mention of his political verses.

|| Some specimens have been quoted by Harris, in his *Philological Inquiries*, p. ii. c. ii. such as—

Jupiter hic natūs in insulā Cretā Sātumo
Ut fuit adultus patrem de regnō privavit.

And again—

Tōt rēum crīmīnībūs pārrīcīdām quōquē fūtūrūm
Ex āuctōritātē vēstrā cōntūlistī in āltūm.

In which the metre of the lines is attained by accent alone, with a total outrage of quantity.

A.D. tion of the change. Amongst the Greeks, the
1143. corruptions commenced probably about the same time;* and one of the most likely causes assigned for the alteration, was the prevalence of christianity, for the composition of whose popular poetry and hymns it afforded greater facility. The name, likewise, of "Political" or vulgar verses,† appears in some degree to strengthen the conjecture. After the verses of Photius and Metaphrastes, referred to above, in the ninth century, we have again examples from Psellus and Philippus Solitarius in the eleventh,‡ and from Theodore Prodromos (who wrote, however, chiefly in iambics,§)

* Job. Mich. Langius. ad Poesin Barbaro-Græcam Introduction, Altdorffii, 1707, p. 6. Fauriel, p. xii. Col. Leake is certainly wanting in his usual accuracy, in attributing them to the tenth or eleventh century.—Researches, p. 99.

† Στῆχοι πολιτικοί. These consist of fifteen syllables, (any occasional exuberance being suppressed by aphæresis or synalephe,) with an accent on the penultimate, and a cæsure after the eighth syllable. But besides the political verses, we meet in the ninth century, and subsequently, anacreontics and iambics composed on the same principle.

‡ Langius, p. 16. sec. x. l. vi. Psellus has some verses on grammar; and Philip, a poem, entitled "Dioptra, or a rule of christian life, being a dialogue between the soul and body."—Schoell, l. v. c. 74.

§ Of the accentuated iambics, one of the earliest specimens is that of Metaphrastes, quoted by Allatius and Langius, an address to his soul, 'Εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν:—

and John Tzetzēs, besides Manassēs in the A.D.
1143.
twelfth.*

Ψυχὴ στέναζε καὶ στεναγμοῖς δακρύων
Σπούδασε τῶν σῶν ἐξαλείφειν πταισμάτων
Τὸ γραμματεῖον. Ἄλλὰ μὴ πάλιν νέας
Γράφειν ὀφειλᾶς, καὶ παροργίζειν δέλε.
Ὁ Χριστὸς, οἶδα, χρηστὸς, ἀλλ' εἵπερ φθάσαι
Τὸ κοινὸν ἀρκάσει σε τοῦ βίου τέλος,
Ὅτω ρυπαρὴ καὶ βεβορβοραμένη
Οἱ μοι τί δράσεις; πῶς πῆ ποτηρίου
Τὸ πικρὸν, ὃ κίρνησι θυμὸς Κυρίου.

Of the Political verses, or trochaics, which are the most abundant, I shall quote from the same source a few, in order to illustrate their formation. They are from an alphabetical anagram of Metaphrastes.

Ἀναλογίζου ταπεινὴ ψυχὴ μου παναδλία
Βῆμα τὸ φοικαδέστατον κρίσεως τῆς μεγάλης
Γυμνὴ γὰρ μέλλεις ἵστασθαι καὶ τετραχηλισμένη
Διδόναί λόγον ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπράξαμεν ἐν βίῳ,
Εἰτ' ἀγαθῶν, εἴτε κακῶν, ἀδίκων ἢ δικαίων. κ. τ. λ.

Of the various Anacreontics, the most favourable examples will be found in the modern lyrics and Bacchanalian songs of Christopoulou; (τα Λύρικα καὶ Βάκχικα τοῦ Αθανασίου Χριστοπούλου, the editions are numerous, one was printed at Athens in 1825.) But the reader will be better pleased to have a specimen from a more celebrated subject. The following lines are from a version of Homer, printed at Venice, by Pinelli in 1540, and referred to by Harris, Phil. Inq. p. ii. c. 2.

Τὴν ὀργὴν ἄδε, καὶ λέγε,
ὦ θεά μου Καλλιόπη,

* Langius, p. 17.

A.D.
1204.

In a previous chapter, I have referred to the dissensions of the Angeli, and the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in the fourth year of *the thirteenth century*. Of this event, the most interesting and authentic memorials are drawn from the reports of Nicetas, of Colosses in Phrygia, an eye-witness of the catastrophe, who, after the fall of the city, retired to the dominions of Theodore Lascaris, at Nice, where he composed his History of the Byzantine Empire from Calo John to the accession of Baldwin. With considerable talent, judgment, and taste for letters and the arts, his works are read with interest and pleasure; but

Τοῦ Πηλεΐδου Ἀχιλλέως,
Πῶς ἐγένετ' ὀλεθρία,
Καὶ πολλὰς λύπας ἐποίησε
Εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐν πάντας,
Καὶ πολλὰς ψυχὰς ἀνδρείας
Πῶς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἄδην.

In this, which is exactly the metre of Dryden's
War, he sung, is toil and trouble,
Honour but an empty bubble;

the classical ear of the English student will scarcely recognize the lofty *Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ* of its great original.

The introduction of rhyme is likewise a disputed era amongst the modern Greek philologists; but few examples of it, according to Col. Leake, occur anterior to A. D. 1300, but in the popular poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it is to be found in all its varieties.

his style is ambitious and rhetorical, and his statements, owing to the natural indignation and prejudices of an injured man, must be received with caution and scrutiny.* In the plunder of the city, the attention of the Crusaders was attracted solely by objects of pecuniary value, and its almost incredible hoards of wealth;† they could neither comprehend nor appreciate literary treasures; and whilst the libraries were committed to the flames, or their contents borne through the streets of Constantinople on the spears of the soldiers, the chiefs displayed in derision, ink, pens, and paper, as the arms of the inglorious Greeks.‡

A.D.
1204.

The progress of learning was of course sus-

A.D.
1204—
1261.

* Harles, sec. v. p. 568. Schoell, l. vi. c. 84. Boeclerus, sec. P. C. xii. p. 96. Berington, app. i. p. 609.

† "It is generally believed," says Gibbon, "that the secret, far exceeded the acknowledged, plunder. Yet the magnitude of the prize surpassed the largest scale of experience or expectation. After the whole had been equally divided between the French and Venetians, 50,000 marks were deduced, to satisfy the debts of the former and the demands of the latter. The residue of the French amounted to 400,000 marks of silver, about 800,000*l.* sterling; nor can I better appreciate the value of that sum in the public and private transactions of the age, than by defining it as seven times the annual revenue of the kingdom of England."—Decl. and Fall, c. lx.

‡ Gibbon, Decline and Fall, c. lx.

A.D. 1204—
1261. pended at the capital during the residence of the Latins, religious hatred and political animosity alike preventing the captives from coalescing with their conquerors, whose patronage was in some degree essential to the encouragement of literary pursuits.* The individuals of education or genius who survived the siege, sought refuge at Trebizond and Nice; and Byzantium was abandoned to the strangers, and those whom poverty prevented from emigration. Under Vataces, who, in A. D. 1222, succeeded to Theodore Lascaris in the empire of Nice, the cause of public instruction was warmly supported;† and whilst at Constantinople the vernacular dialect of the people was rapidly imbibing corruption from the idiom of the French, the ancient language of Greece was preserved in its purity by the inhabitants of these flourishing retreats, whence it again emerged on the restoration of the Paleologi: nor were their pens in the interim unemployed. It was then that Blemmidas studied philosophy, physics, and the theory of government,‡ and Acropolita§ and Pachy-

* Rizo, p. 17.

† Gibbon, c. lxii.

‡ Schoell, l. vi. c. 94. He likewise wrote some works on geography.—Ib. c. 90.

§ Gibbon, c. lxii. Schoell, l. vi. c. 86. Fabricius, l. v. c. i. 10.

meres* devoted themselves to commemorating the events of their own times.

A.D.
1204—
1261.

One of the objects of the attention of Michael Paleologus, on the expulsion of the Latins from Constantinople, was the revival of education, and the re-establishment of seminaries for public instruction. The direction of these he entrusted to Manuel Holobolus, a scholar and a churchman, whom, however, he shortly after deprived of his ears and nose, for daring to censure his barbarity to John Lascaris, his pupil and lawful sovereign,† and finally drove from the capital with the grossest indignities, in consequence of his opposition to the union of the eastern and western churches, attempted by Michael. It was not under the patronage of such a monarch, that the fallen character of the age could be retrieved; and, in fact, after a few years of his stormy reign had elapsed, he was forced to devote his energies rather to the protection than the improvement of his dominions.

A.D.
1261.

The reign of Andronicus II. which extended into the *fourteenth century*, was remarkable merely for religious controversy and foreign and

A.D.
1282.

* Schoell, l. vi. c. 86. Pachymeres, besides history, applied himself likewise to the study of mathematics and philosophy.—Ib. c. 92–94. Harles, sec. v. p. 572. Fabricius, l. vi. c. i. 11.

† Gibbon, c. lxii.

A.D. 1282. domestic broils; whilst the advancing power of the Turks was from year to year extending over the unprotected provinces of his dominions. The ornaments of his court were Theodore Metochita, his logothete, or principal minister, Nicephorus Gregoras, the historian, and Maximus Planudes, the learned editor of Esop, and compiler of a valuable Anthology. The former was as highly distinguished for the graces of his person, as the endowments of his mind; and so extensive was his erudition, that he was designated by his colleagues a living cyclopædia. His studies included natural philosophy, history, and the more abstruse sciences, in which his proficiency has been enthusiastically mentioned by his friend and fellow-student, Nicephorus.* The Byzantine History of the latter, which is his most celebrated production, abounds with that affectation and pomposity, which characterised the mind and demeanour of its writer; but in it events are impartially and clearly detailed. A portion of it only has been published, the conclusion remaining still in manuscript.† Planudes, however,

* Berington, app. i. p. 618. Schoell, l. vi. c. 94. Fabricius, l. v. c. xxx.

† Fabricius, l. v. c. 1. Berington, app. i. p. 614, et seq. Schoell, l. vi. c. 84. Boeclerus, sec. P. C. xiii. p. 105. Harles, sec. v. p. 576.

was, if not in mind the most original, at least ^{A.D. 1262.} in acquirement the most extraordinary man of his age. Of his life but few particulars are known; he was born in Nicomedia, resided at Constantinople, was ambassador from Andronicus to the Venetians, and died about A.D. 1350.

Amongst his other peculiarities, I may observe, that he was the first individual who introduced the use of what are termed the Arabic numerals. His learning, which extended to almost every branch, was devoted to the composition of works on a variety of subjects; and poetry and philology, arithmetic and Latin literature, rhetoric and ethics, have been equally illustrated by the pen of Planudes.* It must not, however, be omitted, that he possessed neither the power of creative genius, nor discerning taste, and that strength, rather than elegance, was the characteristic of his mind.

During the civil wars, in the reign of the younger Andronicus,† the dynasty of the emperors received the fatal wound, which was

* Berington, app. i. p. 628. Schoell, l. vi. c. 72, 74, 79, 81. Harles, sec. v. p. 575.

† Of these an eloquent but insincere account has been furnished us by the principal actor, John Cantacuzenus, written after his abdication, in a convent.—Gibbon, c. lxiii. Schoell, l. vi. c. 86. Berington, app. i. p. 622. Boeclerus, sec. P. C. xiii. p. 105. Harles, sec. v. p. 577. Fabricius, l. v. c. i. 12.

A.D.
1333. to terminate in its annihilation; the Turks gained that footing in the dominions of the Greeks, which they never abandoned till the race of its feeble monarchs was no more.* From this period till the utter overthrow of Byzantium, its annals form a picture as melancholy as disgusting; its princes, though their possessions were dwindled to the extent of a worthless province, were still madly pursuing idiotic fallacies,† whilst the breasts of their subjects were festering with envenomed controversy; apathy alone seemed to prevent their enemies from seizing at once upon their remnant of a territory, which they appeared to wait for as a prize that was shortly to drop of its own accord into their hands, without requiring even the effort of a grasp. In vain the terrified victims at last awoke to a consciousness of their infatuation, and looked alternately with horror on their expectant foe, and with pitiable entreaty towards the christians of Europe; in vain they sought to bury in oblivion those baneful enmities which they now discovered,

* In A. D. 1333, the Turks established themselves at Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia.

† Such were the Omphalopsychi, who sought for the divine light in their navel; a controversy which occupied a long portion of the reign of John Palæologus.—Gibbon, c. lxiii.

when too late, had left them a deserted, unfriended, and solitary prey to the destroyer. They made some imploring efforts to obtain, through an ecclesiastical union, the alliance of Christendom; but their advances were received with coldness abroad, and opposed by fiery fanaticism at home.* The Ottomans regarded the impotent attempt with scorn and derision; and at length, wearied with the humiliating spectacle, they placed their hand upon the worthless throne, and took possession in the name of Mahomet.

A.D.
1353.A.D.
1453.

During this gloomy era, we can, of course, look for no written memorials of the expiring literature of Greece: we only know, from the evidence of Philelfo and others, that education was still a primary object with the higher orders of the capital; and the labour of the scholiasts, or the productions of antiquity, serve to show that a taste for classical learning was not yet extinguished in the East. The mournful tale of the final overthrow of the Greeks, and the entrance of the Turks into the seven-hilled city of the Cæsars, is related by three individuals who survived the national ruin: Ducas, Chalcondylas, and Phranza, with whose works

* Gibbon, c. lxviii.

A.D. we close the tedious series of the Byzantine
1483. historians.*

In the Island of Lesbos, which remained

* The Collection known under this title commences after Procopius, and includes the works of upwards of fifty authors, from Justinian to Mahomet II. The first edition, superintended by Philippe Labbe, a Jesuit, was undertaken by command of Louis XIV. but from the difficulty of bringing together materials, a large proportion of which was still in manuscript, the series is deficient in chronological arrangement; and owing to the varied taste of the numerous editors, there is a want of uniformity, and frequently of perspicuity, in the several works. The Byzantine historians are usually divided into four classes, the first, containing Zonaras, Nicetas, Choniates, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Chalcondylas, whose united volumes form one continuous history of Byzantium. In the second are arranged the compilers of chronicles from the earlier ages to the era of the authors, such as Syncellus, Theophanes the Isaurian, Malala, Scylitza, and others. The third comprises those whose labours refer only to a single period, the reign of an emperor or life of an individual, and these, as they frequently treat of their own contemporaries, are usually the most valuable and interesting; such are Agathias, Symocatta, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Anna Comnena, &c. The fourth class includes writers on antiquities and statistics, as Paulus Silentarius, to whose metrical description of the Cathedral of St. Sophia I have already alluded; Hierocles the Grammarian, who, in a sort of traveller's guide-book, gives an account of sixty-four provinces of the empire; the Themes of Constantine VII. &c. Exclusively of these, there are a few not included amongst the Byzantine writers, Xiphilinus, Poesanius, and Dares the Phrygian, besides a host of authors on the ecclesiastical annals of Byzantium.

in the family of Gasteluzzi, till wrested from them by Mahomet II., Ducas, a descendant of the imperial family, composed, after the fall of the city, his history, which, though it runs back so far as the earliest ages, is copious and detailed only from the year 1341, when John Cantacuzene was declared guardian to young Lascaris, till the reduction of Lesbos, in A.D. 1462. The style is barbarous, but its details evince shrewd reflection and political sagacity.* Chalcondylas, who wrote about the same time, was credulous as a chronicler, but rich in a profusion of valuable facts;† and Phranza, who concludes the list, can boast neither the interest of the one nor the talents of the other. On the conquest of Constantinople, he was sold into slavery, but, being subsequently redeemed, he withdrew to the Court of Thomas, the gallant despot of the Morea, and on his defeat, retired to a Corfiot monastery, where, under the name of Gregorius, he compiled his annals of the Palæologi, from their restoration in A.D. 1261, to their final dispersion in A. D. 1453. The objections to this production are those which are common to almost the entire suite of his fellow-writers—an ungraceful and affected style, a fri-

* Harles, sec. v. p. 585. Schoell, l. vi. c. 86.

† Schoell, l. vi. c. 84. Fabricius, l. v. c. i. 14. Harles, sec. v. p. 585.

A.D. 1462. volous garrulity, a superstitious enumeration of

unimportant phenomena, and a manifestation of prejudices towards the factions of the church or state.* These annalists of the middle ages can, in fact, be regarded not as supplying history itself, but materials for its composition; and necessity alone has given them popularity and importance, since they are the sole sources of information which we possess regarding those remote and gloomy periods. Those of them who pretended to originality in composition, generally speaking, possessed neither judgment, taste, nor critical acumen; their style sinking at one time into puerile simplicity, and at others bursting forth into an affectation of sublimity as ludicrous as contemptible. Where their language is free from grammatical barbarisms, the imagination of the reader is tortured by involved phraseology, undefined epithets, and obsolete expressions; or his patience is exhausted by a profusion of tasteless ornament or inapplicable imagery. Of those who confined themselves to the humbler walk of compiling from the labours of others, the only object seemed to be, an anxiety to amass material, however gross, and congregate incidents, however ill-attested.

* Boeclerus, sec. P. C. xv. p. 106. Harles, sec. v. p. 586. Schoell, l. vi. c. 86. Gibbon, c. lxvi.

Truth and fable, the sacred and profane, superstition and historical veracity, are promiscuously blended throughout their volumes; and not unfrequently, in their quotations, the accuracy of the original is destroyed and defaced, in order to conceal the thefts of the plagiarist.*

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In reviewing this period, from Constantine the Great to the overthrow of the empire, we cannot avoid being struck with the small proportion of authors who owe their birth to what may be properly denominated, Greece. Athens, Thebes, and the Peloponnesus, have furnished comparatively none, whilst the great body have issued from Alexandria, Byzantium, or the provinces. During this long era, too, the progress of the human mind, which in Italy and the West was perpetually, however slowly, advancing, appears to have been almost stationary at Constantinople. During nearly twelve centuries, no new discovery calculated to promote the dignity or happiness of mankind, no fresh idea to cast a light over the speculative pursuits of their fathers, no high production of discerning judgment, no grand effusion of creative genius, was added to the patrimony which

* Saint Croix, *Examen des Histo. d'Alexandre le Grand*, p. 153, in Schoell, vol. v. p. 356. Gibbon, c. liii.

A.D. they had derived from their ancestors.* But
1462. the spurs to emulation and advancement had long been withdrawn from the genius of the Greeks: surrounded by illiterate nations, standing as it were in insulated civilization, amidst surrounding barbarism, their ambition was aroused by no comparison with foreign merit, exertion was suspended by vanity and self-satisfaction, and apathy and decay were gradually engendered by misfortunes and despair.†

* I have omitted in this sketch any mention of the fate of the Drama in Greece. As the remarkable perfection to which this art attained at Athens, was in a great degree attributable to the honours conferred by the people on its distinguished cultivators, so one of the first incidents which may be regarded as having contributed to hasten its decline, was the stigma cast by the Romans on the person and profession of an actor.‡ When thus abandoned to a worthless and dishonoured caste, the caustic satire and loose pantomime of the Greeks quickly degenerated into vulgar farce and gross obscenity; and as the genius of the nation declined, the classic productions of the tragic and comic muse were abandoned, for the performance of dancers, wrestlers, and buffoons.§ The sublimities, or graces of poetry, gave way

† Gibbon, c. liii.

‡ As the genius of the theatres of Rome and Greece were, after the conquest of the latter, nearly similar, I shall in this note treat of their decline in the same terms, the history of the one being, in fact, merely that of the other.

§ For a detailed account of these popular performances,

Towards the close of their political existence, and under the government of a family whose

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before the allurements of processions and melo-dramatic effect;* the powers of a Roscius or a Paris, yielded to those of a pyrotechnist,† or a rope-dancer;‡ and morality declining with taste, the theatres gradually became the haunts of vice, and the temples of depravity.§

This new passion, too, was encouraged by the satiety arising from the endless repetition of the productions of the early dramatic writers; whilst the talentless authors of the age could furnish no fresh variety, nor aspire to the produc-

see the 29th and 30th chapters of Julius Cæsar Bulenger, *de Theatro*, &c. lib. i.

* ————— “Media inter carmina poscunt
Aut ursum aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet.
Verum equitis quoque jam migravit ab aure voluptas
Omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana,” &c.

Horace, Ep. ii. lib. ii. v. 185.

† “Mobile ponderibus descendat pegma reductis,
Inque chori speciem spargentes ardua flammæ
Scena rotet, variasque effingat Mulciber orbes
Per tabulas impune vagus.”

Claudian, Paneg. 8.

‡ “An magis oblectant animum jactata petauro
Corpora, quique solent rectum descendere funem.”

Juvenal, Sat. xiv. v. 265.

§ Juvenal, Sat. vi. v. 61.—For authorities of the ancients on the depravity of the theatres under the Romans, see c. xlii. of Bulenger, the *Histrio-mastix* of Prynne, where they are collected *ad nauseam*, and Collier’s invective against the stage. The author of this last-mentioned work has selected all his authorities from Prynne; but his volume is grossly deficient, both in talent, judgment, and candour.

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1462. talents and melancholy fate alike entitle them to regret, taste, if not genius, seemed in some

tion of any thing beyond the plot of a pantomime.* The evil at length rose to so great a height as to become alarming; and in the reign of Tiberius, the number of dancers and musicians was so excessive, and the expense at which they were supported so enormous, that legislative enactments were necessary for their salutary restriction.† As the empire declined, the progress of corruption was hastened by the example of the Emperors; Caligula did not hesitate, in his rapturous admiration, publicly to reward with kisses the imitable dancing of the pantomime Lepidus Mnester, and to flog with his own hand those who presumed to disturb the breathless silence of the theatre during his performances;‡ and so ardent a patron was he of these exciting amusements, that he occasionally conferred on his histrionic buffoons the government of valuable provinces and elevated offices in the state.

This popular depravity at last attracted the indignation of the Christian church,§ and the pens of Cyprian and Cyril, of Tertullian, Lactantius, and a host of others, were directed

* Gibb. xxxi. Signorelli Storia de' Teatri, l. i. c. viii. p. 174.

† Suetonius, in vitâ Tiber. c. 34. The vast and magnificent theatres of Rome were filled by 3000 female dancers and by 3000 singers, with the masters of the respective choruses. Such was the popular favour which they enjoyed, that in a time of scarcity, when all strangers were banished from the city, the merit of contributing to the public pleasures exempted *them* from a law which was strictly executed against the professors of the liberal arts.—Gibbon, c. xxxi. and Signorelli, p. 173; from Ammianus, l. xiv. c. 6.

‡ Suetonius in vita Calig. c. 55.

§ Schlegel's Lectures on Dramatic Lit. vol. i. p. 24. Arti-

degree to revive. Apparently ashamed of their own degenerate productions, the enlightened

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to the annihilation of the abuse. At the first and second Councils of Arles, held under Constantine the Great,* A. D. 314 and A.D. 320, players were excommunicated by the assembled prelates; and in the subsequent and numerous councils held at Carthage, Constantinople, and elsewhere, the severest penalties of the church were denounced against all frequenters of theatres, especially the clergy. Nor were the efforts of these pious fathers, though slow, altogether without effect; and Saint Augustine, in the beginning of the fifth century, dwells with evident pleasure on the incipient disappearance of the abomination. "In what particular," he exclaims, "is the happiness of those who have embraced Christianity diminished, unless it be in the abandonment of those pleasures which tended to abuse, to pervert the blessings conferred by providence, or unless they consider this a gloomy period in which, throughout almost every city, we can trace the gradual disappearance of theatres, those haunts of wickedness and hot-beds of pollution."†

Still, however, even at this debased era, the works of the

cle Drama, in the Supplement to the Encycl. Brit. by Sir Walter Scott. Voltaire, *Mélange Philos.* v. ii. des divers changem. arriv. à l'art Trag. p. 491.

* Glorifying in the hostility manifested by Constantine the Great "to stage plays," Prynne gives him with exultation the title of "*an Englishman born*;" alluding, perhaps, to the monkish tradition preserved by Jeffrey of Monmouth, that Helena, the mother of Constantine, was daughter to King Coil, who is fabled to have reigned in Essex in the third century.

† "Nisi forte hinc sint tempora mala, quia per omnes pene civitates cadunt theatres caveæ turpitudinum et publicæ professiones flagitiosorum." De consensu Evangel. l. i. c. 33.

A.D. body of the people turned with avidity towards
1462. the literature of their ancestors, and by degrees

early dramatists were not totally abandoned in Greece, and Tertullian and Augustine, in their fulminations, both specify distinctly the existence of tragedy and comedy; nay, even till late in the annals of the empire, the performance of the dramas of Sophocles, Æschylus, and Euripides, formed the occasional amusement of the Byzantine Greeks.*

Of the history of the stage, however, after the removal of the seat of empire to the Bosphorus, our details are meagre in the extreme, nor have any of its historians attempted to pursue its revolutions during the gloomy period which ensued.† The fullest materials for an inquiry into the state of the stage during the middle ages, would perhaps be found in the enactments of the various ecclesiastical councils, which successively inveighed against their existence and their patrons; and where the particulars of the numerous forms in which the evil presented itself are often detailed with considerable accuracy. Thus, the 62d Canon of the sixth Council of Constantinople, in A. D. 680, makes a curious mention of some of the amusements then popular in the Eastern empire.‡

“Canon. 62. Kalendas quæ dicuntur, et vota bru-

* Mill's Theod. Ducas, vol. ii. p. 168.

† Schlegel dismisses this period in a few lines, by observing, that from the decline of the stage in the first ages of Christianity, a period of nearly a thousand years elapsed ere a legitimate drama was revived in Europe (vol. i. p. 24); and Signorelli, though he has examined its history with much more assiduity than Schlegel, is equally brief and unsatisfactory in his account of the theatres of the middle ages.

‡ Surias, tom. ii. p. 1049. Carranza, fol. 195.

the passion for authorship was abandoned for domestic study, and the culture of their ancient

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malia quæ vocantur, et qui in primo Martii mensis die fit conventus, ex fidelium civitate omnino tolli volumus; sed et publicas mulierum saltationes, multam noxam exitiumque afferentes, quin etiam eas, quæ nomine eorum qui falso apud Græcos dii nominati sunt, vel nomine virorum ac mulierum fiunt saltationes ac mysteria more antiquo et à vita Christianorum alieno, amandamus et expellimus; statuentes ut nullus deinceps muliebri veste induatur, vel mulier veste viro conveniente. Sed neque comicas, vel satyricas, vel tragicas personas induant, neque execrandi Bacchi nomen, uvam in torcularibus exprimentes, invocent; neque vinum in doliis effundentes, risum moveant, ignorantia vel vanitate ea quæ à dæmonis impostura procedunt exercentes. Eos ergo qui deinceps aliquid eorum, quæ scripta sunt, aggredientur, uti ad horum cognitionem pervenerint, si sint quidem clerici, deponi jubemus; si verò laici, segregari."

Of this enactment, I subjoin the quaint translation of Prynne, (p. 588.)

"Can. 62. Those things that are called kalends, and those that are named winter wishes, and that meeting which is made upon the first day of March, wee will shall be wholly taken away out of the citty of the faithfull; as also wee wholly forbid and expell the publike dancing of women, bringing much hurt and destruction; and likewise those dances and mysteries that are made in the name of those who are falsly named Gods among the Grecians, or in the name of men and women, after the ancient manner, farre differing from the life of Christians; ordaining that no man shall henceforth bee clothed in woman's apparell, nor no woman in man's aray. Neither may any one put on comicall, satyricall, or tragicall vizards in enterludes; neither may

A.D. tongue. It was to this revolution that we are
1462. indebted for the host of illustrious scholars,

they invoke the name of the execrable Bacchus, when as they presse their grapes in wine-presses; neither pouring out wine in tubbes, may they provoke laughter, exercising those things through ignorance or vanity, which proceed from the imposture of the Divel. Those, therefore, who hereafter shall attempt any of these things that are written, after they shall come to the knowledge of them; if they be clergymen, we command them to be deposed; and if laymen, to be excommunicated."

In this reference to Bacchus, we may still trace the existence of an ancient custom, to which tragedy and the stage were indebted for their origin; and during the existence of a regular drama in Greece and Rome, the altar of this patron of the art was invariably placed in the theatres of the two nations. The characters introduced in the interludes referred to above, appear, however, to have shortly after ceased to be confined to classical originals; and in retaliation for the fulminations of the church, its functionaries were occasionally made the subject of satirical or ridiculous exhibitions. The 16th Canon of the eighth Council of Constantinople, held in A. D. 867 or A. D. 870, prohibits, under severe penalties, the countenancing of practices so inimical to the dignity of the prelacy and clergy.

"Colligere licet," say the assembled bishops, "solenne fuisse in aulis principum statis quibusdam diebus, componere aliquem laicum insignibus episcopalibus, qui et tonsura et cæteris ornamentis personatum episcopum ageret; et creâsse etiam ridiculum patriarcham, quo se oblectarent. Quæ omnia ut in dedecus ecclesiæ accersita, prohibentur sub gravibus censuris."

From which it would appear, not only that the Patriarch

who, about the period of the downfall of their country's independence, awoke in Italy and

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himself was exposed to these indignities, but that the practice was patronized by the highest orders of Constantinople. As the nation by degrees assumed a more theological character, and the guardians of religion discovered that their efforts to annihilate the evil of theatres were abortive, they seemed to have applied themselves to the reformation of that which they could not totally eradicate. As the popular subjects of the original drama in Greece were drawn from their own mythology; in like manner we find, about the tenth century, that interludes, drawn from the relations of the sacred writings, and the lives of the saints, were introduced and patronized by the clergy of the East. The invention of these religious mysteries is attributed by Cedrenus to Theophylact, about A. D. 990;* and their first performers appear to have been the inferior clergy of Constantinople, whose lives and morals, if one may judge from the frequent censures of the Councils, were by no means remarkable for purity. In their hands, these pious subjects quickly began to be contaminated, by the introduction of other ludicrous and less edifying characters, amongst which, personifications of the Devil appear to have been remarkably popular, and are censured in the regulations of several of the Councils. The last extract I shall make is from the canons of the Synod of Langres in 1404, when the prevalent habits of the clergy, and their

* This Theophylact, whom Cedrenus calls Patriarch of Constantinople, can scarcely be the same who was Bishop of Acris, in Bulgaria, in 1070, and wrote the *Παιδεία βασιλική*, a treatise intended for the instructors of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, son to Michael VII. Parapinaces; yet we find no other of the name about this period.

A.D. 1462. the west a taste for the learning and the language of the early Greeks.

perverted representations of mysteries, are alike censured by the fathers.

“ Prohibemus clericis et viris ecclesiasticis, potissimè in sacris ordinibus constitutis, et maximè sacerdotibus et curatis, ne omnino ludant ad taxillos, ad aleas, neque ad chartas, neque ad stophum, neque ad lucta, neque ad jactum lapidis, ad saltum, ad choreas, neque ad clipeum, neque cum fistula vel aliis musicalibus instrumentis, quibus cum ore seu bucha luditur. Non ludant etiam ad bolas, ad cursum vel currendum in campo pro lucro vel pro vino, ad jaculandum, vel gladiandum, neque ludant ad quillas, vel torneamenta, seu jostas. Summopere caveant, ne intersint neque ludant in ludo quod dicitur Chareuari, in quo utuntur larvis in figura dæmonum, et horrenda ibidem committuntur : quem ludum non solum clericis, sed generaliter omnibus subditis prohibemus sub excommunicationis pœna, et decem librarum nobis applicandarum : neque etiam in ludis illis inhonestis quæ solent fieri in aliquibus Ecclesiis in festo Fatuorum, quod faciunt in festivitatis Natalis Domini.”

I again quote the translation of Prynne, (p. 599.)

“ Wee prohibit clergymen and ecclesiasticall persons, especially those in holy orders, and most of all, priests and curates, that they play not at all at tables, at dice, nor at cards ; neither at whirling nor at wrestling, nor at throwing of the stone, at leaping, at dancing ; neither at the buckler, neither with a pipe or other musicall instruments, which are played upon with the mouth or cheeks. Likewise, they may not play at bowles, at running in the field for money or wine, at darting, or sword-playing ; neither may they play at quiutins, at torneies, or justs. Let them diligently beware, that they be not present at, nor yet play in, the play that is called Chare-.

It is impossible to regard without feelings of admiration the combination of circumstances, by which, at this awful crisis, an asyhum was pre-

vari, in which they use vizards in the shape of divels, and horrible things are there committed ; which play wee prohibit not onely to clergymen, but generally all our subjects, under paine of excommunication, and of ten pounds to be paid unto our use ; nor yet in those dishonest playes which are wont to be made in some churches in the feast of Innocents, which they make in the festivalls of our Saviour's nativity."

In addition to these, chess likewise was forbidden to be played, " unlesse it be very rarely ; for albeit it bee an honest play, and proceeds from the subtilty of wit, yet it requires great and unprofitable study, and much prolixity of time."

From these imperfect notices, the reader may form an idea of the frivolities and childish sports which, as in the latter centuries of the Eastern empire, had supplanted in the theatres the lofty productions of the early drama ; and these, it is needless to say, were likewise swept away on the conquest of the Ottomans. As Greek literature revived in Italy in the 16th century, the theatrical entertainments of the age were formed in some degree on the antique models with which they then became acquainted,* and the plays of Sophocles were occasionally performed in the original Greek.† The intercourse between Venice and Crete, whither, as I shall presently mention, the poetical talent of Constantinople seemed to have retired after the Turkish conquest, naturally led to some imitations of the popular literature of Italy by the latter ; and amongst others, we find a tragedy, in five acts, called *Erophile*, composed by George Khortatzi, a Cretan,

* Signorelli, l. ii. c. 2.

† Mill's Theod. Ducas, v. ii. p. 166.

pared for those to whom fortune had no longer left a home or a protector. Little more than a century had elapsed since the same nation, by whom the refugees were now welcomed with enthusiasm, would have turned from them with conscientious aversion—and to their literature and intellectual treasures alone were the Greeks indebted for this remarkable conversion. In Italy, the study of the ancient Greek, though frequently languishing and neglected, had at no period been totally abandoned;* but it was only when its inhabitants became conscious of

* Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, 4to. Firenze, 1772, vol. v. l. iii. c. i. p. 393.

probably about the sixteenth century, or a little later.† In form, it resembles the Italian dramas of the same period; its dialogue is written in the popular verse of Modern Greece, and the plot, which is fabulous, is laid in Egypt, but at what period the author does not specify.

During the last century, as Bucharest and Yassi rose into importance, theatres were established in each, as well as at Corfu and Odessa, where plays, chiefly from the Italian schools, are still represented in Modern Greek. The number of original writers for the stage is, however, extremely limited, nor has any been so decidedly successful as Rizo, the historian, whose two tragedies, *Aspasia* and *Polyxena*, are declared, in the eulogy of one of his admiring countrymen, to combine the united genius of Sophocles and Aristophanes.‡

† Leake's *Researches*, p. 117.

‡ *Resumé Geog.* par M. G. A. M. Citoyen Grec, p. 351.

the charms of their own language, chastened by the classics of Rome,* that they began fully to appreciate the matchless beauties of their Grecian originals. When Dante had breathed a living spirit into their old versification, and Petrarch had attuned its dulcet tones to melody they had never known before, the ambition of the numerous Italian states was aroused, and in their mutual rivalry, princes and chiefs aspired to the guardianship of talent ; and wealth and honours were showered upon the successful cultivators of letters and the arts. It was then that the houses of the Visconti and Della Scala, of Carrara and Este, of Corregio, Gonzaga, and Malatesta, became at Milan and Verona, at Padua and Ferrara, at Parma, Mantua, and Pesaro, the patrons of genius ;† and Italy, awaking from her intellectual lethargy, arose at once the land of science and of song.

Amongst the most distinguished agents of this revolution, were Petrarch of Arezzo, and John of Certaldo, or Boccacio, whose ardent love of learning was accompanied by an equal anxiety to impart a like passion to their countrymen, and to whom the world

* Mill's Theodore Ducas, vol. i. p. 20.

† Ginguené, *Hist. Litter. d'Italie*, vol. ii. c. xi. vol. iii. c. xviii.

is indebted for the recovery and preservation of some of the choicest treasures of antiquity.* Greek was cultivated amongst his numerous pursuits by Petrarch, but unfortunately his success was never gratifying, and even towards the close of his life, he had to deplore his inability to read or to enjoy the sublimities of Homer.† The labours of Boccaccio were more fortunate, and, perhaps, more assiduous, and to him Florence was indebted for the foundation of her first professorship of ancient Greek, for the study of which she was subsequently considered the fountain-head in Italy. In 1360, Leo Pilatius, a Calabrian, or perhaps a Greek,‡ was intro-

* Petrarch was the discoverer of Cicero de Gloria, and some works of Varro; and in the search after manuscripts, so universal in the fourteenth century, he took a prominent place.

† The first tutor of Petrarch was Barlaam, a Calabrian monk, whom he met at Avignon in 1342, while the latter was ambassador from John Palæologus to Benedict XII.; but their period of intercourse was brief, and ere Petrarch had time to benefit by his instructions, Barlaam was recalled to Naples, where Robert of Anjou conferred on him the see of Girace, the ancient Locre. He had subsequently a few lessons from Leo Pilatius, but apparently without profit.—Gibbon, c. lxvi. Schoell, l. vii. c. 99. Ginguené, v. ii. c. xii. s. 2, p. 436. Tiraboschi, vol. v. l. iii. c. i. p. 395.

‡ Hodius calls him Thessalonicensis (*De Græcis illustribus linguae Græcæ litterarumque humaniorum instauratoribus*,

duced to him by Petrarch; and so thoroughly devoted was he to the interests of literature, that although he detested his person,* he solicited and prevailed on him to remain for nearly three years in his family. By his influence with the Florentines, he obtained for the Greek a pension and a school, but so confined was the taste of the age for elegant literature, that not more than ten individuals could be found in Italy who could read the language he professed.† Wearied with his tedious occupation, Leo longed to visit Greece, and, accordingly, embarked against the entreaties of his patrons; but scarcely had he landed at Constantinople, ere he again sighed for the delights of Italy; he set out on his return, had reached the Adriatic, and was already within sight of

&c. l. i. c. i. p. 2.) Petrarch seems to consider him an Italian, "Leo noster, vere Calaber, sed ut ipse vult Thessalus, quasi nobilius sit Græcum esse quam Italum; idem tamen ut apud nos Græcus sit apud illos puto Italus, quo scilicet utrobique peregrina nobilitetur origine."—*Rer. Senil.* l. iii. apud Hodium et Tiraboschi.

* "Aspectu horridus homo est," says Boccacio, in enumerating those by whom he had been aided in the composition of his mythology, "turpi facie, barba prolixa et capillitio nigro, et meditatione occupatus assidua, moribus incultus nec satis urbanus."—*De Genealogia Deorum*, l. xv. c. 6. p. 388.

† So says Petrarch in a letter to Homer, in reply to one written to him in the name of the poet by Boccacio.

his destination, when the vessel was struck by lightning, and the unfortunate professor perished.*

After the death of Pilatius, an interval of upwards of thirty years occurred ere his chair was dignified by the presence of a successor; during which, those who sought to acquire a knowledge of Greek, were obliged for that purpose to travel to Constantinople.† But towards the close of the fourteenth century, during the negotiations for the union of the eastern and western churches, a new professor was found in Manuel Chrysoloras. He had been ambassador from John Palæologus to the court of Richard II. of England; and charmed with his passage through Italy, he was easily prevailed on to return and fix his abode at Florence.‡ Here his exertions as a lecturer were attended with brilliant success; and his class, amongst other illustrious scholars, could boast the names of Leonardo Bruni,§ and Carlo Marsuppini,

* Gibbon, c. lxvi. Schoell, l. vii. c. 99. Berington, b. iv. p. 334. Mill's Theo. Ducas, vol. i. p. 281.

† Tiraboschi, vol. v. l. iii. c. i. p. 401. vol. vi. p. 2. l. iii. c. ii. p. 125.

‡ Tiraboschi, ib. p. 126. Gibbon, ib. Mill's Theo. Ducas, vol. i. p. 301.

§ Chancellor to the Republic of Florence, where he died in A.D. 1444. His literary taste was said to have been engendered from perpetually contemplating, when a boy, a portrait

(both denominated Aretino,) of Palla Strozzi,* the reformer of the University of Florence, of Ambrosio Traversari, General of the Camaldolite Friars, of Guarino of Verona, the celebrated Poggio Bracciolini, Francesco Filelfo, whom I have frequently mentioned, Vittorino Rambaldoni,† Pietro Paolo Vergerio, Gregorio da Tiferna, who was subsequently, in 1458, the first professor of Greek who had appeared at Paris, and John Aurispa, the Sicilian, by whose means the Italians were first made acquainted with the works of Plato, Xenophon, Lucian, Strabo, Callimachus, and Pindar.‡ Chrysoloras may, in fact, be regarded as the perfecter of the task commenced by Petrarch and Boccacio,§ and the effectual

of Petrarch suspended in a room where he was confined. Gibbon, n. c. lxvi.

* A Florentine, successor of Bruni.

† Better known by the title of Vittorino de Feltre. He was president of the academy founded at Mantua, by John Francesco Gonzaga.

‡ Besides these, he likewise introduced into Italy Plotinus, Proclus, Dion Cassius, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Procopius, Oppian, and the fragments attributed to Orpheus. Schoell, l. vii. c. 100. Ginguené, vol. vi. c. xviii. p. 287. Tiraboschi, t. vi. p. i. l. i. c. 4. p. 102.

§ With these names I should likewise associate that of John Malpaghino, called John of Ravenna, the amanuensis of Petrarch, and subsequently a teacher of Greek at Padua and Florence. Ginguené, vol. ii. c. xii. s. 2.

reviver of Greek learning in the West. He resigned his situation in A.D. 1400, and was afterwards a teacher in the schools of Padua and Milan, and died during the Council of Constance, at an advanced age, fifteen years after his departure from Florence. After this event, a considerable time elapsed before the arrival of any new Greeks of eminence, but still the taste which had been implanted was productive of ample fruits, and numerous native professors were found to supply the institutions of the various states. New patrons, too, arose in the Medici, Pope Nicolas V. and Alfonso of Aragon, under whose inspection the work of collecting and translating manuscripts was carried on with vigour and success.

During this interval, and previous to the fall of Constantinople, Rome and the North were successively visited by George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza,* who had been driven from Thessalonica by the Turks in 1430, and George Gemistius Pletho, whose name has acquired celebrity, as well from his literary as grammatical labours.† But the most remarkable individual of the emigrants of this era was John Bessarion, of Trebizond, who in 1438 was present

* See Hodus, l. i. c. iii. iv. Ginguené, v. iii. c. xx. pp. 360, 361. Tiraboschi, v. ii. p. ii. c. ii. p. 139.

† Ginguené, v. iii. c. 18.

at the Council of Florence, and in the year following was invested with the purple by Eugene IV. After the dissolution of the council, he fixed his abode at Rome, where his talents and consequent influence rendered him an efficient protector to his fugitive countrymen, and a valuable friend and promoter of letters.*

It was thus, as I have before mentioned, that a refuge was providentially prepared for the miserable Greeks on their expulsion from Byzantium ; and here arriving, according to Filelfo, destitute of every resource, and mourning their relatives abandoned to slavery or death, they were received with that hospitality which their precursors had secured for them. Amongst these melancholy emigrants, I have already mentioned the name of Lascaris, the protégé of Bessarion, and the friend of Leo X. Demetrius Chalcondylas, who had arrived some time before, had been appointed to the vacant chair of Chrysoloras. But it would be alike tedious and uninteresting to continue the list, or to trace the story of those, who, in the succeeding years, were gradually forced by tyranny to abandon their country, and seek an asy-

* Gibbon, c. lxvi. Berington, b. vi. p. 488. Mill's Theo. Ducas, vol. i. p. 318. Hodius, l. i. c. v. Ginguené, v. iii. c. xx. p. 358.

lum in Europe.* Occasionally there appeared among them, some individuals of superior powers, but, in general, they could advance no other claim to attention, than the possession of their ancient tongue; they bore no sciences to Italy, and they left behind no striking productions of genius.†

In this review of the leading events in the history of Byzantine literature, I have refrained from mentioning one class of works, which, though popular during the lower empire, form but an unimportant branch of the intellectual productions of the middle ages: I refer to the early Greek romances. Of these fictitious narratives we can find no trace in the classical eras of Greece; they were introduced after the age of Alexander the Great from Asia Minor, the inhabitants of which, according to Huet,‡ had obtained them during their intercourse with the Persians and other Orientals; and the Milesian Tales of Aristides, men-

* The names of a vast number will be found in Schoell's Hist. vol. vii. and in the work of Dr. Hody.

† I omit all mention of the gradual introduction of the study of Greek into France, Germany, and the North; copious details on this head will be found in the works I have already referred to: in Knight's Life of Erasmus, Fidlerus de Græc. et Latin. Liter., in Misnia Instaur., in Dalzell's Lectures, and other works of an earlier date.

‡ De Fabularum Romanensium Origine.

tioned by Plutarch,* were the first compositions of the kind with which we are aware of the Greeks being acquainted. Of these tales, which are now lost, but few particulars are ascertained; the period in which they were written is unknown, even the nature of their style, whether poetry or prose,† is uncertain, and we only know that their subjects were licentious and obscene.‡

But, in fact, the same obscurity hangs over almost every production of this kind, which has been preserved to us in extracts, abridgments, or otherwise. Doubts are entertained of the authenticity of many, which are strongly suspected to be forgeries of a modern date;§ few

* In Vita Crassi.

† Huet speaks of them as prose, but two lines in the *Tristia* of Ovid refer to them as verse.

“Junxit Aristides Milesia carmina secum,
Pulsus Aristides nec tamen urbe sua est.”

‡ “Surena (after the battle of Carræ,) having called the senate of Seleucia together, laid before them Aristides’ bookes of ribaldry, intituled *the Milesians*, which was no fable, for they were found in a Romane’s fardle, or trusse, called Rustius. This gave Surena great cause to scorne and despise the behaviour of the Romanes, which was so far out of order, that even in the warres, they could not refraine from doing evill, and from the reading of such vile bookes.”—Plutarch *Life of Crassus*. Transl. Sir Thom. North, Knt., fol. 1579.

§ Such is the story of Theogones and Charides, &c. attri-

of them survive, save in the quotations and criticisms of Photius ; the eras of several are doubtful, and of others unknown ; and Peerlkamp, a recent editor of the Ephesiacs of Xenophon, professes to have discovered, that the names of every author of Greek romance, save Heliodorus, are fictitious, and assumed.*

The reigns of Trajan and the Antonines were prolific in works of this nature : such were the *Metamorphoses* of Lucius Patrensis, which afforded a model for *the Ass* of Lucian,† the *Epistles* of Alciphron,‡ and the *Babylonics* of Jamblicus,§ a Syrian, which contain the miraculous adventures of two lovers, Rhodanes and Sinonis, in their flight from the amorous tyranny of Garmas, king of Babylon.|| To this period has likewise been assigned the imaginary voyage of Antonius Diogenes, containing an account of the incredible things to be seen be-

buted to Athenagoras, a philosopher of the second century, but now generally believed a counterfeit of Martin Fumée, who published it at Paris in 1599.—Schoell, v. iv. p. 309. n. Dunlop, *History of Fiction*, vol. i. p. 113.

* Such is, undoubtedly, the case with Longus and Chariton Aphrodisiensis.

† Λούκιος ἢ Όνος.

‡ Ἐπιστολαὶ ἀλευτικαὶ καὶ τραιρικαὶ.

§ This individual is not to be confounded with the Platonic philosopher of the same age.

|| See the tale in Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction*, vol. i. p. 13.

yond Thule.* This work, which is known only through the library of Photius, was a tissue of the most improbable fables related by Dyrceillis, a Tyrian girl, who, in her wanderings over the world, when driven from her home, in company with her brother Mantinias, meets with the hero, Dinias, in the far-famed island of Thule.† The idea of the author seems taken from the Odyssey, and his production was the most perfect of its kind that had then appeared; but in comparison with the romances of his successors, it possesses but indifferent merit. Next to Diogenes, in point of time, M. Schoell has placed Xenophon, of Ephesus, a writer who has been by various commentators referred to the first, the third, and the fifth centuries, but who, from the number of barbarisms analogous to the dialect of modern Greece to be found in his style,‡ may with safety be assigned to a much later period. His Ephesiacs, or tale of Anthia and Abrokomas, meagre, insipid, and spiritless, is one of the least interesting of its class, and the only attraction, attached to it, is that it contains the original incident of the sleeping draught in Romeo and Juliet.

* Τὰ ὑπερ Θούλην ἀπιστῶν λόγοι.

† Dunlop, v. 1. p. 8. Huet, p. 31.

‡ Fauriel, Intro. Chants Pop. p. xiii.

Of the fictitious narratives of the Greeks, however, that which evinces the highest talent, and has obtained the most decided popularity, is the tale of Theagenes and Chariclea, by Heliodorus, Bishop of Tricca, in Thessaly, who lived about the close of the fourth century. Equally a favourite in the East and in Europe, it was followed by a host of Grecian imitators, and served as the model for numbers of the romances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.* Till its appearance, says Huet, the world had seen nothing so highly finished or imaginative; its love scenes were chaste and beautiful, its incidents startling and new, its catastrophe inimitable, and its diction polished, pure, and pathetic.† But notwithstanding this eulogium, the romance of the Bishop has not escaped keen criticism, and he has been accused, not without foundation, of a want of originality, a superficial knowledge of the human heart, and a re-

* Schoell, v. i. l. vi. c. 78. Dunlop, v. i. p. 40. Tasso, in the twelfth canto, st. 21, et sq. of his *Jerusalem Delivered*, has borrowed almost without alteration the life of Clorinda, as related by Arsete, from Heliodorus; and Guarini, in his *Pastor Fido*, has been indebted to the same source; Racine intended, and Dorat and Hardy wrote tragedies on the story of Theagenes and Chariclea; and Raphael, too, has honoured it, by making it the subject of one of his immortal paintings.

† For the incidents of this story, which are too lengthened

dundancy of rich, though too often, reiterated description.*

Next to Heliodorus in merit, is his imitator Achilles Tatius, of Alexandria, who wrote about the fifth century the Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe.† His imagination wants the superior delicacy of his original;‡ his hero, like most of those of antiquity, is a brute,§ and occasionally his tale might be objected to on the score of morality; but still, in particular passages, his powers of description excel even those of Heliodorus, and his style has obtained ample eulogy from the pen of his talented critic, Photius.

for detail, I must refer the reader to the admirable volume of Mr. Dunlop.

* Korai, of whom I shall have occasion to speak presently, has furnished us with the latest and best edition of Heliodorus, printed at the expense of Alexander Basilides. It was published at Paris, 2 vols. 8vo. 1804.

† Τὰ κατὰ Λευκίππην καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα, Schoell, l. vi. c. 78. Dunlop, v. i. p. 43.—Huet, p. 39.

‡ During a fit of mental aberration, induced by a too powerful love potion, his heroine, according to Mr. Dunlop, commits many acts of extravagance, boxes the ears of her lover, kicks his friend Menelaus, and finally quarrels with her petticoats, ἡ δὲ προσεπάλασεν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν φροντίζουσα κρύπτειν ὅσα γυνὴ μὴ ὀρεῖσθαι θέλει, l. 4. c. 9.

§ In the Greek romances, it is no unusual exploit for these gentlemen to knock down their mistresses through passion or mistake.

Longus, a writer of whose name, nation, life, or era, we have no authentic particulars,* was the author of *Daphnis and Chloe*, the earliest pastoral romance with which we are acquainted, and which, with a little change of manners, climate, and costume, has served as the foundation of innumerable productions of a similar class, and amongst others, according to M. Villemain, of *Paul and Virginia*. Unlike the writings of his successors, however, the work of Longus aims at being natural, not heroic. His descriptions of life belong to his own, and not to the golden age; and his characters, instead of aspiring to discourse philosophy, content themselves with the expression of merely human passions.†

There seems to be a blank in productions of this kind, from the age of Tatius till the end of the eighth century, when John of Damascus, whose works on philosophy and theology I have had occasion to mention elsewhere,‡ wrote his *Jehosaphat* and *Barlaam*, one of the earliest of the class denominated spiritual romances.

* He is said to have lived about the time of Tatius. Dunlop, v. i. p. 56.

† *Chereas* and *Callirhoe*, a romance of little or no merit, by a writer calling himself *Chariton Aphrodisiensis*, is generally attributed to the same age as the works of Tatius and Longus. See Schoell, l. vi. c. 78. Dunlop, v. i. p. 74.

‡ See vol. ii. p. 112.

Abounding with scriptural imitations and similitudes, and referring solely to subjects of a sacred cast, martyrdoms, temptations, and triumphs; it possesses but few attractions to a carnal reader.* It relates the life of Jehosaphat, son to Abenner, an Eastern Prince, who is converted to christianity by means of Barlaam, a monk of Senaar. After a series of efforts on the part of his father to induce him to abjure his newly-adopted faith, in which Jehosaphat is exposed to most grievous temptations, the truth at length triumphs, and Abenner, reconciled to his conversion, shares his kingdom with his son. His newly begun power is employed in the furtherance of christianity, and amongst the list of his converts, he has shortly the satisfaction to number Abenner himself and the officers of his court. On the subsequent death of his father, Jehosaphat, retiring from the world, betakes himself to the solitary retreat of his first instructor, Barlaam, and after a penance of five-and-thirty years, expires, and is buried in the same grave with his early friend. The story is embellished with some highly poetical and beautiful allusions, and is altogether worthy of the reputation of its learned and celebrated author.†

The next important incident in the history

* Dunlop, v. i. p. 85.

† Ib. p. 83.

of Grecian fiction was the appearance, in the twelfth century, of the metrical tale of Rhodante and Dosicles, by Theodore Prodromos,* known likewise by his monastic name of Hilarion. Written in execrable iambics, it can boast neither originality nor genius, and is interesting merely as the first modern effort at poetic narrative, and the earliest ascertained specimen of purely Romaic versification.† Still its popularity at the period of its composition was extreme, and served to induce a crowd of imitators. Of the latter the most prominent were Constantine Manasses, a fragment of whose verses is preserved in the "*Garden of Roses*" of Makarius Chrysocephalus; and Nicetas Eugenianus, whose story of Drosillus and Chariclea‡

* To this interval has been attributed the *Ismene* and *Ismenias* of Eumathius, or Eustathius, a work of which Huet (who attributes its composition to the twelfth century) observes that "rien n'est plus froid, rien n'est plus plat, rien n'est plus ennuyeux : " it exhibits " nulle bienséance, nulle vraisemblance, nulle invention, nulle conduite," &c.

† See Leake's *Researches*, pp. 72 and 167, where specimens of the poem are extracted. I have said here "ascertained" since M. Fauriel properly remarks that "il n'y a point d'apparence que ces vers vulgaires fussent les premiers que l'on eût écrits à Constantinople." *Disc. Prel.* p. xiii.

‡ Mr. Dunlop is incorrect in saying that the romance of Eugenianus is in iambics (vol. i. p. 109); it is written in the ordinary political verses.

is merely a miserable imitation of a miserable original.

The romances which I have here specified, and which were written previous to the commencement of the thirteenth century, were mere efforts to create a powerful excitement by the narration of startling and surprising events: they aimed at no delineation of character, no portraiture of nature; their lovers were rude, adventurous boors, and their heroines insipid and unamiable beauties. In the popular literature or romances of other countries, we learn something of the manners and character of their times; in those of the Greeks we perceive neither; their incidents are incredible, and their embellishments fictitious; and although, after the occupation of the Franks, they assumed a new and more defined character, when chivalry blazed in the pages, and their heroes, from nondescript wanderers, became knights of admirable gallantry and superhuman valour, neither the spirit nor the tendency of their fables was improved; and down to the Turkish conquest their writers displayed neither advancing talent nor fresh developments of mind.*

* My limits will not allow me to do more than mention the general character of the works of fiction of this age, and in fact, I fear that during this chapter the reader will have

During the interval between the triumph of Mahomet II. and the close of the fifteenth century, the scattered remnants of what could still be called Grecian genius, had gradually settled down into distant or secure retreats. A portion of the educated classes, who preferred submission at home to independence in a foreign land, remained at Constantinople, assembled round the palace of the Patriarch Scholarius, and took possession of the dwellings assigned them by the conqueror at the Phanar. Here the fragments of manuscripts which had escaped de-

supposed me writing a literary, rather than a general, sketch of Modern Greece. Amongst the most remarkable Romances of this period, were the anonymous History referred to by Crusius, the *Loves of Rhodamna and Lybistros*, a sketch of the fable of which will be found at p. 75, n. of Leake's Researches; and the adventures of Bertrand the Roman and Chrysanza, daughter to the King of Antioch, both of which have been referred to the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth translations and adoptions from the Italian, or Provençal tales became general; we have still Romaic versions of *the Theseid* of Boccacio, *Iberius* or *Imperius*, *Floris* and *Blanche-fleur*, and *Apollonius of Tyre*, which were all written previous to A. D. 1500. In the sixteenth, (for I may anticipate the enumeration,) the most celebrated were a history of *Belisarius*, by an unknown author; one of Alexander the Great, by Demetrius Zeno of Zante, written in 1529; and the still popular, though tiresome, *Adventures of Erotocritus*, by Vincenzo Cornaro, a Cretan. (For an account of this curious production, the reader is again referred to Colonel Leake, p. 101, and Fauriel, Disc. Prel. p. xix.)

struction, were collected into a library; schools were established for the education of youth, and the pens of the secular clergy and other satellites of the church were employed by Genadius in exposing the impurities of Rome. The individuals devoted to classical pursuits had retired, as I have mentioned, to the cities and colleges of Italy; and poetry,* with the lighter branches of literature, withdrew almost exclusively to Candia, where they long continued to be cultivated under the protection of the Venetians. Of the literary productions of this or the two succeeding centuries, I shall not enter into a minute detail; the invention and rapid improvement of printing at this period had given unusual facilities to their multiplication, and the number of Greek works which issued from the press were consequently much increased.† But unfortunately

* Previously to the fall of the city, the poetic talents of a few individuals had been devoted to the commemoration of some of the historical events of the empire, as well as to the composition of romance: thus an anonymous eye-witness has sung the Wars of the Franks in the Morea, and another the Battle of Varna in 1444, and a third, (Emmanuel Gheorghilá,) the Plague of Rhodes in 1478.

† Lists of the Greek authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will be found in Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* v. xi. and Meletius's *Ecclesiastical History*, v. iv. c. 25, as well as in Crusius and Ducange.

the talent of the authors was far from advancing in a corresponding ratio ; with the exception of theology, poetry alone (if their rude rhymes deserve the name) seemed the grand object of universal cultivation ; but in this, their dialect continued barbarous and corrupt, and their ideas coarse and vulgar, and the laws of versification in their untutored hands served only to involve their phraseology in obscurity. Sentiment, which the taste of the day could not comprehend, became subservient to sound, which all could appreciate ; and even the interest of their wild narrations was sacrificed to the prolix ambition of their authors.* As to works of science or instruction, of history, philosophy, or general information, the Greeks of this period have left us none.

Education amongst them seems to have been at the lowest ebb. I have already referred to the melancholy statement of Kraus, relative to the almost total want of native schools ; and though the attention of the French missionaries, who, in the reign of Charles IX. established

* The nuptials of Theseus and Æmilia, printed at Venice in A. D. 1529, are spun out into no less than twelve books, and the Erotocritus of Cornaro occupies upwards of 10,000 lines in relating the adventures, wars, tournaments, and single combats of the hero.

themselves in Greece,* was directed to the instruction of the people, their efforts, opposed by the craft of the priesthood and the religious animosities of all classes, were never crowned with success.

The country, in the mean time, was at once the object and the arena for the contentions of Venice and the Sultan; and whilst its cities were beset by the armies of the belligerents, and its fields overrun by bands of plunderers,† the mental cultivation or enlightenment of the people was naturally a matter of impossibility. It was only when the era of bloodshed had passed, and when a revolting tranquillity was procured by the final establishment of the Turks, that we begin in the eighteenth century to discover any symptoms of intellectual or political improvement.

* Rabbe, p. 64.

† See vol. i. p. 162, &c.

CHAPTER XIV.

Fate of the Fine Arts in Greece.

IT has sometimes been a matter of discussion, whether the influence of despotism, or that of liberty, be more conducive to the advancement of the liberal arts; but, were an instance wanting to decide in favour of the latter, none more convincing could be adduced than that of the Greeks. Throughout all those intestine wars, which, during the days of their independence, so long and so frequently distracted the attention of the Grecian states, the progress of the arts towards perfection may have been slow and occasionally suspended; but the interruption was a pause, not a retrogression, and the stream of genius flowed on afresh from each successive check, not with diminished but with renovated vigour. But when liberty began to wane, and the influence of despots commenced to spread over Greece, art from that moment

dates its first decline.* It had gained its height of perfection at the period when Macedonia became sufficiently powerful to threaten the freedom of the Achæans ; and from the hour when Greece was brought into contact with tyranny, in consequence of her unfortunate alliance with the Romans, down to the period of her fatal subjection to their power, the genius of her artists was from year to year becoming more torpid and less aspiring, and their productions evinced the gradual progress of deterioration. When her overthrow was finally consummated, and her territory was incorporated with the dominion of her conquerors, the arts received their lethal blow :† genius, it is true, was not at once extinguished, but for the few centuries during which it survived, its existence was merely a protracted decay, and the annals of its decline present no one instance of even apparent revival.

The claims of Greece to the invention of painting and sculpture have been frequently

* “ Il resultera de cette histoire,” says Winkelmann, “ que la liberté seul a élevé l’art à sa perfection.” *Hist. de l’Art*, l. vi. c. i. The opposite opinion is adopted by M. Heyne, another historian and critic of the fine arts, in his *Dissertation sur les Epoques de l’Art chez les Anciens*, &c. as well as by various others.

† Turnbull, *Treatise on Ancient Painting*. Agincourt, *Histoire de l’Art par les Monumens*, vol. i. p. 7.

disputed;* but one point, at least, is certain, that she alone advanced them to perfection, although others may have possessed them before her. Rome, on the contrary, can adduce no shadow of a title to originality in the arts,† but must bear the stigma of having crushed them almost to extinction, as often as she received them from the Etruscans, the Greeks, or their colonists in Asia, Sicily, or Egypt.‡ The causes of this singular antithesis in the character of the two greatest nations of antiquity are, however, sufficiently evinced in the records of their domestic policy, which have severally reached us.

It has been a favourite, though now almost an exploded theory, to attribute the excellence of the Greeks, in works of literature or taste, to the influence of their climate and their soil;§

* Winkelmann, l. i. c. 1.

† Ibid, l. v. c. 1, 2.

‡ “ — Si l'on considère que ce peuple conquérant, qui, depuis la fondation de sa ville, ravagea les contrées voisines, et soumit toutes les nations chez lesquelles la peinture était connue, ne s'occupa des beaux arts en aucune manière pendant plus de quatre cents ans, et que depuis cette époque, on n'a vu chez lui aucun artiste recommandable, mais seulement quelques ouvrages médiocres, faits par un ou deux de ses citoyens, on ne sera pas tenté d'accorder aux Romains, ni le goût des beaux arts, ni la gloire de les avoir encouragés.”—Mus. Franç. Disc. Peint. Anc. p. 101.

§ Winkelmann, l. i. c. 3. l. iv. c. 1. The theory of the in-

that of Italy was equally salubrious and pure, and yet the one has proved the grave, whilst the other was the cradle of genius. It is true, that art is indebted for its second birth to Italy, but it was under a different constitution that it revived: when its professors were rendered honourable instead of being branded as infamous, and their works were looked upon as efforts of intellect, and not regarded as mere productions of mechanical skill.

The inventive excellence of the Greeks, in works of taste has been attributed to various and united causes, but principally to the scope afforded to imagination by the sublimities of their mythology, and the splendour attendant upon the celebration of their national games.* But let their origin be as it may, their ultimate perfection is solely attributable to the honours heaped on those who practised them, and the high rewards conferred by their countrymen on distinguished artists. Whilst the mercurial spirit of the Athenians and the other states was involving them in continual wars, their slaves and menials were occupied in the exercise of the mechanical and domestic

fluence of climate on mind is briefly but ingeniously discussed by Voltaire, Philos. Dict. art. *Climate*.

* Musée Français, Discours Historique sur la Sculpture, p. 43.

arts at home. But during their intervals of peace, when the haughty soldier returned flushed with triumph, he disdained to share with his servants and dependants the practice of these humbler professions. It was then, that to find encouragement for these turbulent warriors or restless citizens, the decree was passed, which forbade the exercise of sculpture or design to slaves, rendered the liberal arts the province of freemen alone, and dignified them for ever in the eyes of the Athenians.*

Thus, confined exclusively to the exalted portion of the state, riches or aggrandizement became in a short time a secondary object with the sculptor or the painter; and a laurel crown or a public decree was considered a higher gratification than the gold of individuals, or the most costly gains of the artist.† The crowd, dazzled with magnificence, bestowed a species of worship on those whose talents had adorned their cities;‡ and they, in turn, be-

* Sir W. Young, *Hist. Athens*. Winkelmann, l. iv. c. 8.

† Polygnotus, a painter of Thasos (about 422 years before the Christian era), having ornamented the Pœcile at Athens with his paintings of the Trojan war, refused to accept any remuneration, though pressed by the people *to name his own price*. For this disinterestedness he was rewarded by a decree of the Amphictyonic council, ordaining, that wherever he went he should be supported at the expense of the state.—*Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 9.* Plutarch.

‡ Winkelmann, liv. iv. c. 1.

came intoxicated* with the glorious pride arising from their elevation.† The most distinguished individuals did not disdain to use the chisel or the pallet; the labour, as well as the design, equally ennobled genius; and the boldest conception was expressed in the most graceful execution.‡ Honours and rewards rapidly swelled the number of candidates for national distinction, and on every public occasion the productions of numerous artists were exhibited for the selection of the state. Nor was patronage corrupted by an abandonment to the rich and the powerful, but entrusted to the assembled nation, whose united voices directed its conferment.§ With the increasing passion of the people for the adornment of their national edifices, arose the ambition of individuals to contribute to their support, || and public osten-

* Parrhasius, the Ephesian, was so exalted in his own opinion, as to lay claim to divine origin, and clothing himself with a crown of gold and a purple robe, he assumed the title of the "King of Painters."—Pliny.

† So conscious were many of the painters of their own excellence, that they did not scruple to inscribe on their works, "It is easier to criticise than to imitate." And so glowingly were they admired by the people, that they did not presume to ridicule the arrogance of the inscription.

‡ Sir W. Young. § Winkelmann, liv. iv. c. 1.

|| When Pericles was directing those public works which still remain to attest the magnificence of the ancient Greeks, and whose expense was defrayed by the money of the state,

tation was not unfrequently gratified by private munificence. At the same time, this universal appreciation, this fine and polished taste in works of design, ensured to those of its professors, to whom it was essential, an adequate compensation for their labours as often as they were offered for disposal.* Hence the artist, conscious that his productions were to be duly esteemed and worthily remunerated, sought only to render them excellent, be the pains or the time devoted to them ever so arduous or protracted; and the united lives of several individuals were, in some instances, devoted to the completion of one master-piece of genius.†

he was reproached by some *financial* citizens for so great an outlay of the public funds. "Do you conceive the sum exorbitant?" said he.—"Decidedly so," replied the Athenians.—"Then," rejoined Pericles, "I shall pay it from my own private fortune, and inscribe on those edifices, '*Pericles built them!*'"—"No! no!" exclaimed the impatient crowd, "we must have them paid from the public treasury, and let no expense be spared on their completion."—Plutarch.

* Zeuxis is said to have acquired so large a fortune by his pencil, that towards the close of his career, he was accustomed to make presents of his paintings, which he considered too valuable to be purchased by individuals at their real worth.—Pliny.

† The group of the Laocoon, which Winkelmann (l. vi. c. 3.) attributes to the age of Alexander the Great, is said to have occupied the entire lifetime of the individuals whose name it bears, Agesander, a Rhodian, and his two sons, Athenodorus

The sums expended by Pericles, with the concurrence of the Athenians, were immense; one hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling are said to have been lavished on the Parthenon alone; and the entire cost of the Propyleium and the other buildings of the Acropolis must have exceeded three thousand talents, and this too at a period when labour was next to worthless,* and the marble for the edifices was found almost on the spot.

Such is a faint outline of the elevated rank enjoyed by the artists of Greece up to the period of her decline: the sculptor, the painter, and the poet, were classed with, and not unfrequently united the character of the warrior, the orator, and the sage;† and those whose remain-

and Polydorus. Its excellence is proportionate to such unexampled assiduity, and Pliny has well characterized it; "*Opus omnibus et picturæ et statuariæ artis preferendum.*" (Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 5.) The accuracy of this opinion of Winkelmann, as to its antiquity, has been disputed; since, with the exception of the description of the death of Laocoon and his sons, in the second book of the *Æneid*, (v. 199, et seq.) which applies equally to the story and the statue, no author has mentioned it before Pliny. Later connoisseurs have placed it between the reign of Augustus and that of Titus, in the ruins of whose palace it was discovered, in the popedom of Julius II.

* A large portion of it was done by slaves.

† Metrodorus, the last distinguished native painter of Greece, was carried to Rome by Paulus Æmilius, after the

ing works now ennoble the memory of fallen Greece, were honoured as her benefactors and ornaments during the brightest days of her glory.

For some time after the death of Alexander the Great, the arts underwent but slight apparent decline; but from the commencement of the first Macedonian war, and the interference of the Romans in the affairs of Greece, their senile deterioration kept pace with the debasement of the land which had fostered their infant improvement. The genius of the Roman people seems to have been at all periods hostile, rather than congenial, to the advancement of the softer embellishments and polite accomplishments of society. From the expulsion of the Tarquini down almost to the

conquest of Perseus, in order to instruct his children in rhetoric and philosophy.—Plutarch. This commingling of art and learning seems to have continued even to a later period; and Diognetus, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, united, like Metrodorus, the characters of painter and philosopher, which in some degree may account for the equal predilection of that Emperor for arts and letters. “La philosophie elle-même,” says Agincourt, “ne dédaignait pas, dans ses graves entretiens, d’expliquer aux artistes la théorie de cette partie sublime des arts d’imitation. Socrate leur demandait compte des moyens qu’ils employaient pour exprimer les passions, et il se plaisait à les éclairer par ses conseils: artiste lui-même, il modelait la statue des grâces, en dictant les préceptes de la sagesse.”—Sculp. Intr. ii. 9. Emeric David, Disc. p. 14.

Achaean conquest, they had assumed, in their domestic as well as national character, a tone of austerity and stern simplicity, which, whilst it was rather an outward assumption than an innate regard for virtue, tended to rusticize society, and banish polish and refinement.

The arts, under these circumstances, were for many centuries unknown amongst them; and it was only when they had penetrated into the fertile regions of Sicily, that they were struck with amazement at the grandeur and ornaments of her cities.* But though they might admire, the Romans were totally unable to appreciate the value of their spoils; they looked upon them merely as the productions of subdued mechanics, and attached no honour or importance to the glowing genius which designed them. As decorations for their houses, they were fully alive to their beauty; and after the conquest of Macedonia and Achaia, the plunder of the Grecian cities was eagerly collected as ornaments for the mansions of the conquerors.† In these glorious monuments,

* *Musée Napoleon*, vol. viii. p. 153.

† The first introduction of the Romans to an acquaintance with the beauties of Grecian art was, according to Livy, on the occasion of the conquest of Syracuse by M. Claudius Marcellus, when the spoils of the captured city were applied to the decoration of the Capitol and the temple dedicated by him near the Porta Capena. "Dum hæc in Hispania

This new taste for decoration quickly brought to Rome the humiliated artists of the subjugated province, who prepared to ply for bread in the land of the spoiler those arts which they had cultivated for the adornment of their own. The Romans, scorning to participate* in those pursuits in which they saw themselves so far outdone by their tributaries, affected to despise what they despaired to imitate, and committed almost exclusively to the conquered Greeks those arts whose productions had now become to them necessities of life.† Their patronage,

- *faute.*—Musée Napoléon, vol xi. p. 149. Caylus, *Antiquités Grecques*, &c. vol. i. p. 158.

* A member of the Fabian family having degraded the rank of his house by the cultivation of painting, such as it then existed at Rome, (previous to the first Punic war,) the appellation of "Pictor" was thenceforth attached as a stigma to his name. Even Augustus, who professed so highly to estimate the value of the arts, made it a favour to permit Quintus Pedius, a youth of a consular family who was born dumb, to be instructed in painting as a pastime for those hours in which nature had incapacitated him for the enjoyment of more patrician studies. The Greeks themselves learned early to adopt those barbarous ideas of their masters; and the grand object of Lucian's "Dream" is to point out the inferiority of sculpture to the more esteemed pursuits of literature.

† "On n'en est pas moins fondé à soutenir que le bel art de la peinture ne jouit d'aucune considération à Rome, et que les raisons qui firent rassembler ses productions dans cette capitale du monde n'influèrent jamais ni sur le goût des

however, was not calculated either to sustain or to advance the fading energies of Grecian talent; it was merely the countenance vouchsafed by a haughty master to an humble dependant, not that devoted enthusiasm that adores whilst it supports the delicate and feminine genius of the arts. This haughty bearing, so consonant to the rude character of the people amongst whom it prevailed, maintained its ground almost without diminution throughout the few centuries, from the conquest of Greece, during which the sovereignty of Rome continued to command respect. The feeling was imbibed by the most polished and erudite of her citizens; and even Virgil himself does not hesitate to stigmatize as beneath the dignity of a Roman the elegant accomplishments of the Greek.* Nor was the prejudice removed till the purity of Grecian taste had disappeared; and it was only when the corruption of art no longer merited patronage, that the Roman monarchs afforded it a tardy protection, which could neither restore its excellence nor impede its decay.

grands, ni sur le désir des gens du peuple à se livrer à la pratique des beaux arts, qui à l'exception de la poesie fut toujours abandonnée aux Grecs et aux esclaves étrangers."—Discours sur la Peinture Ancienne, Musée Franç.

* Virgil, *Æn.* vi. l. 848. et seq. See vol. ii. of this history, note †, p. 48.

It is easy, on contrasting these circumstances with the causes which first served to exalt the reputation of the Greeks, to conceive that the arts in such an age were soon to suffer an inevitable debasement. The grand spring to exertion was withdrawn from those in whose hands were placed their cultivation and support: the Greek had no longer a home to be proud of, or a country to embellish; and his semi-barbarous masters had neither the discrimination to applaud, nor the disposition to reward his labours. Emulation and ambition were extinct; the only object of the artist was to humour the caprices and execute the orders of his employer; and in a brief period, his own educated taste became totally suppressed, or was corrupted by an admixture with that of his patron.*

There seems to be a principle peculiar to art, that it can never be stationary, but is constantly either on the advance or the decline. It was rapidly reduced to mediocrity at Rome, and from this humble point there was neither genius nor encouragement to exalt it. On the contrary, it continued to decline; and as the mind is ever ardent in the pursuit of novelties, each new path struck out by its professors was a retrogression, not an advancement. It was

* "—— Son style melange des principes de l'art Grec et du gout Romain."—Agincourt.

thus that "painting deviated into extravagance or littleness, architecture was lost in ornament, poetry became buried in the quaintness of conceit, and even history, in search of novel excellence, ran into the marvellous, the familiar, or obscure."*

Architecture at Rome was, of all the arts, that which longest retained the traces of its purity, and continued to be cultivated when the others were almost forgotten.† This, however, is easily accounted for, by its essential importance to the necessities of life, whilst painting and sculpture minister merely to its luxuries. With the Greeks, it was that which earliest attained perfection,‡ and flourished with a splendour far excelling the proudest efforts of

* Sir W. Young.

† Winkelmann, l. vi. c. 8.

‡ Winkelmann (l. iv. c. 1.) considers sculpture to have preceded architecture as a science, since the proportions of the former were imitations of existing models, and those of the latter were only discovered after frequent experiments, and an infinity of calculations and reasoning. Goguet supposes its advancement and that of sculpture to have been contemporary. (*Origine des Loix, des Arts, &c.*) On the other hand, Padre Antonio Paoli, in his *Essay on the Origin and Antiquity of Architecture*, endeavours to show that the Greeks received the science in an advanced state from the Egyptians at a period antecedent to that at which sculpture commenced to be cultivated by them; and Agincourt, adopting the same idea, says, "Ainsi identifiée en quelque sorte avec l'homme, puisque le besoin d'y recourir prend naissance avec lui, l'ar-

those who had possessed its knowledge before them. They were the first to reduce beauty to system, and regulate grace by accurately defined principles. In their hands the ponderous style of the Egyptians was relieved from its clumsiness and weight, and invested with those proportions which enhanced its beauty without diminishing its strength. The Doric order, thus invented, was gradually advanced beneath the cloudless skies of Asia Minor, and there received those ornaments which converted it into a new style, distinguished by the name of the land which gave it birth.* As refinement kept pace with the growing power of Greece, the simplicity of her architecture was enriched with fresh decorations; and her last step was the invention of the Corinthian, which, whilst it attested the elegant taste of its projectors, combined the solidity of the Doric with the chastened beauty of the Ionic orders.†

chitecture est de tous les arts celui qui a eu le plutot des regles fixés," &c.—Vol. i. Architect. Introd. p. 2.

* The Ionic.

† " ————— First, unadorn'd,
And nobly plain, the manly Doric rose;
Th' Ionic then with decent, matron grace
Her airy pillar heaved: luxuriant, last,
The rich Corinthian spread her wanton wreath;
The whole so measured true, so lessened off

The science seemed now to have attained the highest point of perfection of which it was susceptible, uniting durability, beauty, strength, simplicity, and ornament, and being equally applicable to the most ponderous buildings, or the most decorative edifices of its cultivators. Greece and her islands abounded with those splendid erections, whose possession could alone occur to a nation equally favoured by nature and by genius. The most costly materials were found almost upon the spots where they were employed, and the ready talents of her artists were prompt to enhance every advantage derivable from circumstance or situation. Her cities were crowded with the purest productions of her immortal artists; the lonely mountain and the beetling cliff were hallowed by those sacred edifices which added beauty to sublimity; and the landmarks of her seamen, as they glided round her hundred isles, were the temples with which Erisichthon and Theodorus* had crowned the marbled summits of the Cyclades.

By fine proportion, that the marble pile,
Form'd to repel the still or stormy waste
Of rolling ages, light as fabrics look'd
That from the magic wand aerial rise."—Thomson.

* The architects of the temples of Apollo and Juno at Delos and Samos.

In architecture, as in the other ornamental sciences, the Romans can advance no title to originality. Their earliest information was derived exclusively from others, and their later inventions can only be considered as corruptions and innovations highly prejudicial to the art.* Their first instructors were the Etrurians,† to whom has been attributed the erection of the Capitol, the Temple of Jupiter, and their primitive edifices, and from whom they inherited the sole order of architecture,‡ and the rude taste for ponderosity and rigid strength which they retained till the later days of the republic.§

As their intercourse, however, began to open with the Greeks and their colonists, they gradually conceived a taste for grace and decoration; and especially after the conquest of Sicily and the other Grecian dependencies, their buildings began to assume a new and more refined appearance. Their youth were then sent to Athens in order to study the art; and under

* Laugier, *Observations sur l'Architecture*, p. vi.

† Caylus *Antiquités*, &c. vol. i. p. 157; vol. iv. p. 178.

‡ The Tuscan, if indeed it, being merely a variation of the Doric, deserve the name of an independent order. No ancient examples of it are, I believe, now remaining.

§ *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Architecture*, prefixed to the *Ruines de la Grèce*, by M. Le Roy, vol. i. p. xvi.

such preceptors some of them are mentioned as having attained to considerable excellence.*

After the subjugation of Achaia, architecture, like its sister arts, was carried in captivity to Rome. Here, owing to the ambitious taste of the conquerors, its fate would appear to have been less unfortunate than that of sculpture or painting. The Romans could boast of, or wonder at, a colossal structure of brick and mortar, whilst they were totally incapable of appreciating the merits of the polished marble, or the wonders of the glowing pencil.† But although the productions of the Greeks now became the models of their masters, their imitation was at an humble distance, and too often their copies deserved rather the title of misrepresentations. Simplicity was then a merit inconceivable to a Roman, and in his eye elegance was barren without profusion. Thus, their edifices became stupendous instead of sublime, and the chasteness of beauty was overwhelmed and annihilated beneath a mass of decoration, which outraged every scientific law and confounded every principle of order. Invention and taste were rendered subservient to frivolity and finish; and with carvings and

* Vitruvius mentions, that a Roman artist was employed in finishing the temple of Jupiter Olympius.

† Musée Napoleon, v. iii. p. 100.

fillets, and flowers and festoons, with cavettos and cimas, and other tawdry and misapplied ornaments, they disfigured their spoliations from the Greeks.*

One of the most zealous and efficient patrons of architecture was Augustus, who having altered the form of government, seemed anxious that the municipal magnificence of Rome should be commensurate with its monarchical grandeur. During his reign, building became a mania;† and that splendour which the Greeks had bestowed on their public structures alone, was now extended to the villas and mansions

* Elmes.

† This passion for architecture at Rome did not escape the caustic pen of Horace, and the fifteenth Ode of his second book is levelled against the fashion :

“ Jam pauca aratro jugera regiae
Moles relinquent,” &c. &c.

And the eighteenth Ode of the same book contains some pointed attacks upon the same subject :

“ Tu secunda marmora
Locas sub ipsum funus, et sepulchri
Immemor struis domos :
Marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges
Summovere littora,
Parùm locuples continente ripa.”

Ode xviii. l. ii. l. 17.

The first Ode of the third book contains a similar allusion :

of their captors.* The example and exertions of the emperor were equally directed to the furtherance of his object, and his success induced him to assert, that he had "found Rome brick and left it marble."† But notwithstanding

* Of the domestic architecture of the Greeks our accounts are exceedingly imperfect; one thing alone we are aware of, that their houses were neither of ample nor costly dimensions; and it is only the regularity and judicious arrangement of their streets that is worthy of mention.

† Suetonius in Ang. c. 28.

"Contracta pisces æquora sentiunt,
Jactis in altum molibus," &c.—l. 33.

His Satires and Epistles abound with parallel passages. (Sat. iii. l. ii. l. 305. Epist. i. lib. i. l. 100. &c.) Sallust, in his Catiline conspiracy, introduces in his account of the luxury of Rome at the period some pithy observations on the same absurd propensity: "Quid ea memorem," says he, "quæ nisi iis qui videre nemini credibilia sunt: à privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constructa esse," &c. &c. (Bell. Catil. sec. xiii.) And in his speech of Catiline to the conspirators the circumstance is ably introduced: "Etenim quis mortalium," exclaims Catiline, "cui virile ingenium tolerare potest, illis divitias superare quas profundant in extruendo mari, et montibus cœquandis; nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius domos continuare; nobis larem familiarem nusquam esse? Cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruant, alia ædificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant, tamen summa libidine divitias vincere nequeunt," &c. (Ibid. sec. xx.)

this imperial protection of the art, the corruption I have alluded to had already commenced; and in several of the surviving monuments of the Augustan age, we can trace that tendency to ornament, that confusion of orders and abandonment of principles, which finally led to the utter degradation of the science.*

The successors of Augustus, from Tiberius to Nero, pursued the same course with redoubled extravagance† but diminished taste; and the “golden house” of the latter was a worthy instance of that passion for external splendour, to which was sacrificed every idea of elegance, grace, and proportion.

During the succeeding century the science rapidly declined in point of excellence, but was

* Such is the temple of Melassus in Caria, built, as its inscription imports, in honour of Augustus and the city of Rome.—Winkelman, l. vi. c. vi.

† Petronius alludes pointedly to this extravagant passion for architecture in the age of Nero:

“ ————— aspice late
Luxuriam spoliolum et censum in damna furentem;
Ædificant auro, sedesque ad sidera mittunt,
Expelluntur aquæ saxis; mare nascitur arvis,
Et permutata rerum statione rebellant.
En etiam mea regna patunt: perfossa dehiscit
Molibus insanis tellus: jam montibus haustis
Antra gemunt,” &c.—Satyricon, c. cxx. l. 211.

still sedulously cultivated by the emperors;* by whom it was employed more extensively in works of public utility, than in edifices of ornament or religion. It was during this epoch, that not Italy alone, but Gaul, Spain, and the other Roman provinces, were indebted for the theatres, aqueducts, bridges, roads, and arches of triumph, whose remnants are still surviving to us. Harbours and ports were not only improved and enlarged, but even founded in those spots where nature had omitted to place them; and from Civita Vecchia† to Terracina, the remains of no less than seven artificial harbours are still to be traced.‡ It is in the monuments of this age likewise, that we find the earliest examples of the Composite, or, as it has been called, the Roman Order; which, by confounding the styles of the Ionic and Corinthian, admitted a wider scope for innovation and the introduction of cumbrous ornament.§

* The most stupendous monument of this era is the Coliseum, or Amphitheatre, commenced by Vespasian and completed by Titus; but its reputation rests rather on its bold and gigantic dimensions than on its architectural merits, since it presents, in numerous particulars, infringements of the legitimate principles of art.

† The ancient Centum Cellæ.

‡ Agincourt, vol. i. Archit. Introd. p. 6. Gibbon, c. ii.

§ Le Roy, Ruines de la Grèce, vol. i. Essai, &c. p. xvi.

One of the most conspicuous names during this period of the decline was that of Hadrian: possessed himself of the feelings and talents of an artist,* his efforts were unceasingly directed to the embellishment of the empire; and the period of his reign, and that of his immediate successors, affords a striking contrast to the earlier ages of Rome; the energies of its rulers being then as strenuously devoted to the adornment of the world, as those of their predecessors had been to its spoliation. The taste of Hadrian was, however, deficient in discrimination and delicate perception. Eagerly attached to every branch of the arts, his universal passion developed itself in incongruous forms, which blended every order and violated every established principle.† I have alluded elsewhere to the liberality with which he raised or restored the public edifices of Greece and the other provinces,‡ and the munificence displayed in the same pursuits by his exalted friend, Herodes Atticus. But still this profuse display merely served to accelerate the decay

Elmes, Dict. Fine Arts. Agincourt, vol. i. Arch. Introd. p. 7.

* Le Roy, vol. i. p. xvi. vol. ii. p. 17.

† His villa at Tivoli is a sufficient instance of this vitiated taste.

‡ Vol. i. p. 20. Gibbon, c. ii.

of the art, by spreading more extensively the principles and practice of a corrupted taste.

The Antonines were, equally with Hadrian, the protectors and patrons of architecture as well as the other ornamental sciences;* but from the period when the first impetus was given to its decay, the Greeks and its other professors wanted either the talents or the energy to effect a pause or a retrogression in its course of deterioration. During the interval which ensued from the decease of Hadrian to the transfer of the seat of empire to Byzantium, its debasement was rapidly progressing; and so torpid had the taste of the empire become, that it was seldom, in this gloomy era, that patronage was vouchsafed it by the court; and if we except some few edifices erected by the Severi and Dioclesian,† the third century was productive of scarcely any monuments of architectural genius.

The arts, as well as literature, underwent a serious alteration on the transfer of the impe-

* "Il (l'art) se sutint sous les Antonins, successeurs d'Adrien. Telle est, sur le sort des beaux arts, l'influence soit des qualités personnelles du souverain, soit des circonstances générales de son règne, que presque toujours on peut juger sainement de l'un par les autres."—Agincourt, *Tab. Hist.* vol. i. p. 4.

† For an account of his colossal and incongruous palace at Spalatro, see Winkelmann, l. vi, c. 7: Gibbon, c. xiii.

rial throne from the Tyber to the Bosphorus, and the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the state.* Invention was restricted by the abolition of imaginary divinities; and the influence of the revolution, which thus served to limit the production, tended by degrees to destroy the existence of the monuments of paganism. The statues of antiquity were attacked with virulence by the partisans of the new creed, till the prevention of their destruction became a subject of legislative enactment, and an officer under the title of *Centurio rerum nientium* was appointed at Rome for their protection.† The ancient structures of the empire experienced a similar fate, and the eunuchs of the court of Constantine are said to have adorned their palaces with the marbles torn from the edifices of the former Greeks. Nor were these acts of barbarism checked by the example or interference of the Emperor, who himself de-

* Agincourt, vol. i. Tab. Histor. c. iv.

† This partial clemency towards the works of sculpture is attributed to some vestiges of taste inherent in the mind of Constantine, who was anxious, according to Prudentius, that these relics should be preserved as productions of art, though not as subjects for adoration.

“ ————— liceat statuas consistere puras
Artificum magnorum opera,” &c.

Winkelman, l. vi. c. 8. Agincourt, v. i. Tab. Hist. c. 4.

stroyed numbers of the temples in order to apply their materials and revenue to the erection and support of the Christian churches.*

Byzantium, when it became the seat of empire, was still possessed of numerous relics of its ancient founders,† the restoration of which, and the erection of public buildings and palaces, called at once into vigorous action all the surviving talents of the Greeks. Porticoes, aqueducts, baths, theatres, hippodromes, arches of triumph, and magnificent churches, rose in every quarter; and schools of architecture, endowed by the Emperor, were founded for the instruction of the youth of Constantinople. Athens again saw the expiring lamp of civilization rekindled within her walls, and held instinctively in her enfeebled hand the torch of science, which her youthful grasp had borne aloft till its broad illumination shone over half the world.

But still this unprecedented liberality of Constantine, and the profusion of marbles, bronze, and gold, lavished with an unsparing hand upon his edifices, were unable to restore the

* Some of the columns still supporting the church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, are pointed out as having been removed to the original edifice by Constantine from the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

† The Megarians.

arts to that eminence from which they had fallen, or lead them back to the purity and chasteness they had abandoned; all was splendid, but nought was beautiful. The delicacy of proportion, which not even the innovations of Hadrian nor the ambitious tastes of Dioclesian could destroy, disappeared for ever in his age: the members of the various orders were swollen beyond all rule in order to support the burthens imposed upon them; and their ponderous and naked dimensions were then enveloped in a mass of mouldings and ornament, regardless of all system, harmony, or expression.* Not only conception, but execution had declined; and even as mechanics, the Greeks of this era had sunk far below the standard of their fathers.†

Down to the reign of Justinian, architecture, though steadily cultivated, experienced no revival: the emperors, devoting to the study of theology the hours stolen from the cares of government, were too sedulously occupied with

* Agincourt, vol. i. Tab. Hist. c. iv.

† This is satisfactorily illustrated by a reference to the arch of triumph erected at Rome by Constantine after his victory over Maxentius. The better portion of its decorations are plundered from the Forum of Trajan, and nothing can afford a more striking contrast than their graceful workmanship, compared with the tasteless finish of those supplied by the artists of the emperor.

the mysteries of the church to attend to the embellishment of the empire; architecture was restricted by law* to works of public utility or religion, and with the exception of a few bridges, churches, baths, and monasteries, we know scarcely any thing of the condition of the art from the fourth to the beginning of the sixth century.† The earthquake in the reign of Theodosius II. A. D. 477, whose ravages extended from Constantinople to Alexandria, afforded an ample occasion for the exercise of the talents of the Grecian artists in the work of restoration, but it is a remarkable instance of the low state of public taste as it then existed, that, of all the monuments then erected, scarcely one could now be pointed out as a model worthy of modern imitation. Justinian, himself an artist by practice and education, was the last energetic patron of architecture amongst the Greeks: the empire during his reign was from east to west one continuous *atelier* of artists, and the number of cities founded, restored, fortified, or embellished by his exertions, would almost exceed credibility.‡ Unfortunately, of

* Codex Theod. xv. Tit. i. leg. 36.

† Agincourt, vol. i. Tab. Hist. c. xiv.

‡ I have elsewhere alluded to the volume which Procopius has devoted exclusively to the description of these works of Justinian. (See vol. ii. c. xiii. p. 104. n.) It is divided into

all his undertakings but few survive to attest the condition of the arts during his reign ; of these, the most conspicuous is the cathedral of St. Sophia, at Constantinople,* which, though

six books, of which the first includes his erections at Constantinople and the vicinity ; the second his fortifications in Media, Mesopotamia, the Persian frontiers, Syria, and part of Asia Minor ; the third includes Armenia, and the countries bordering on the Euxine ; the fourth Dacia, Epirus, Ætolia, Acarnania, Greece Proper, the Peloponnesus, and Eubœa ; the fifth Ephesus, the islands on the Asiatic coast, parts of Asia Minor, Bithynia, and Palestine ; and the sixth Egypt, Libya, Northern Africa, Numidia, Spain, and the islands of the Mediterranean.

* It was originally built by Constantine, repaired by Constantius, restored by Arcadius, and again by Theodosius II. and finally burnt and rebuilt in the age of Justinian. Le Roy, vol. i. p. xvii. The loquacious Baron de Tott, in his *Memoirs* (vol. i. p. 267.) asserts that St. Sophia, as it now stands, was built by Constantine and merely repaired by Justinian, whose labours, he says, consisted in adding the masses of stone which serve as spurs to support the external columns shaken by earthquakes. The assertion is in every particular inaccurate ; and the following passage from the *Κτισματα* of Procopius sufficiently establishes the right of Justinian to its erection.

Ἄνδρες ἀγελαῖοι ποτὲ, καὶ ὁ συρφετὸς ὄχλος [Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπαναστάντες, τὴν νίκην καλουμένην στάσιν εἰργάσαντο, ἥπερ μοι ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἀκριβολογουμένη ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδιήγεται λόγοις.† ἐνδεικνύμενοι δὲ

† In his *Περσικῶν*, l. i.

bold in its design, and one of the most splendid monuments of the middle ages, is still replete with every corruption of the period. It evinces a want of simplicity both in arrangement and decoration, a disregard of proportion, a blending of every known order, and an infringement of every established principle of the science. Grecian architecture was now in fact extinct; successive centuries had gradually deprived it of each distinguishing attribute, and henceforward it assumes a character so varied as to be scarcely definable, and so corrupt as to retain no one ennobling trace of that dignity and beauty with which the genius of antiquity had invested it.* The ancient orders were corrupted, confounded, and despised, their simplicity and majesty had disappeared, and even the graceful outlines of antiquity were lost, or disguised in their junction with those forms

ὥς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδενὶ ἴσσουν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν, ὅτε ἀποφράδες, τὰ ὅπλα ἀντήρην] ἐμπρῆσαι τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίαν ἐτολμῆσε (Σοφίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βυβυζάντιοι τὸν νεῶν) ἐπὶ τὰ καιριώτατα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἐκωνυμίαν ἀπεργασάμενοι. ἐπιτῆναι αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς καταπράξασθαι τὸ ἀσέβημα, προειδὼς εἰς ὅσον κάλλος τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν, μεταστήσεσθαι ἐμελλεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία ἐξηνθρακωμένη, τότε ξύμπασα ἔκειτο. κ.τ.λ. L. i. p. 1.

This is likewise confirmed by Paulus Silentarius in his *Εκφρασις της Μεγαλης Εκκλησιας*, or description of St. Sophia, P. 1, line 80, *et seq.*

* Laugier, *Observations sur l'Art*, p. viii.

which had been introduced in the temples and edifices of Christianity.

Of the subsequent ages scarcely any monuments now remain, save a few public works, which admitted of no display either of beauty or invention. It is only from some wretched paintings of the middle ages which have reached us, that we can form any idea of the state of architecture from the sixth to the eleventh century. These all display the same peculiarities to be found in the edifices of Mount Athos, Syria, and the isles of the Archipelago, which are conjectured to have been raised by the later emperors. They represent columns either lank and ungraceful, or in the opposite extreme of heaviness and obesity, and stripped of all proportions in base or capital. These are sometimes doubled and entwined, or stationed in couples united at the centre, whilst the surrounding decorations betray a miserable want of all elegance, invention, or design. The general effect is invariably feeble and incongruous; and almost every building presents numerous portions which are neither consistent in themselves nor harmonize with the members around them.*

In subsequent centuries we perceive the gradual effects of the intercourse of the Greeks with the Arabs, the Latins, and other nations

* Agincourt, v. i. Arch. Decad. p. 48.

with whom chance or policy had brought them in contact, and whose tastes and practices they successively imitated in their architecture; but even when these variations were capable of bestowing beauty, there was no longer taste or talent to appropriately apply them.

Notwithstanding this debasement, the fate of architecture in Greece was less unfortunate than that which was experienced in the Roman Empire; and whilst, under the dominion of the Goths and Lombards, its principles and almost its practice were rapidly extinguished in the latter, its professors continued to maintain an acknowledged superiority at Constantinople. As the nations of the West began to emerge from barbarism, it was to the Greeks they again turned for instruction in those arts of civilization, of which they were still the depositaries. The Tuscans, the Genoese, and Venetians, in their commercial intercourse with Constantinople and its dependencies, had carried a fondness for their architecture, faded as it was, to the banks of the Arno and the shores of the Adriatic; and when taste began to revive in Italy, after the conquest of the Lombards, the architects of Byzantium were employed in the erection of those sacred edifices which still adorn the cities of Pisa, Venice, and Ancona.*

* Such are the cathedral of Torcello, an isle in the Venetian lagunes, built in the ninth century by Orso, son to the

When the Turks in the fifteenth century became possessed of the empire, their presence was productive of no perceptible alteration in the practice of the art amongst the Greeks. It had, in fact, already received any tinge of orientalism of which it was susceptible, and its professors had long since ceased to understand or admire the monuments bequeathed them by their fathers. They looked upon them as applicable to no human purposes, and referring them to ages of the remotest antiquity, regarded their erection as the work of sorcerers and genii.

Mahomet II. a prince of talent and genius, as well as valour and ambition, could readily appreciate the value of his conquest on gaining possession of his new capital. Whilst its wealth and decorations were given up to the plunder of his soldiers, he appropriated to himself the walls of its palaces and public edifices. St. Sophia was preserved uninjured and entire; and being consecrated by the conqueror to the Prophet, it served as the model for every sub-

Doge Pietro Orseolo; (Agincourt, v. i. Arch. Decad. p. 42;) the church of St. Cyriac, at Ancona, constructed at the close of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century; the church of St. Mark, at Venice, which was completed about the year 1071; and the cathedral and baptistery of Pisa, the former the work of the celebrated Buschetto, a native of Dulichium, finished in the first year of the twelfth century.

sequent mosque erected throughout the empire,* which were modified, of course, in their dimensions, according to the means of the several founders. Even the churches of the Greeks are merely humble imitations of this faulty but sumptuous original, to which a barrenness of invention, as well as a feeling of religious veneration, has served to confine them.

Nor is their skill in domestic architecture more varied or refined.† Externally mean and

* Eton, c. vi. p. 209.

† In the mode of constructing their buildings both civil and sacred, the process of the modern Greeks is remarkably primitive and simple. M. le Roy, says Guys, (vol. ii. lett. xxxv. p. 2.) "pendant le séjour qu'il a fait à Constantinople en 1753, ayant été conduit à la mosquée que faisoit bâtir Sultan Mahmoud, ne put s'empêcher d'admirer le procédé simple et facile avec lequel l'architecte Grec, chargé de la construction de cet édifice, élevoit la grande voûte, qui le couvroit entièrement. Une perche, placée au centre de l'échaffaudage qui remplissoit l'intérieur de la mosquée, se mouvant circulairement en tout sens, décrivait successivement tous les différents cercles de la voûte; et designoit la place de chaque brique qui entroit dans sa construction. Lorsque par ce procédé la perche, en s'élevant peu-à-peu, étoit parvenue à la ligne perpendiculaire, on fermoit la voûte avec une pierre qui en faisoit la clef."

Mr. Eton (ch. vi. p. 229.) gives a similar statement from his own observation. "In some parts of Asia, I have seen cupolas, of a considerable size, built without any kind of timber support. They fix firmly in the middle a post about the height of the perpendicular wall, more or less, as the

unimposing, their houses present within either a profusion of barbarous ornament, or a display of naked poverty, evincing, whatever be the wealth of the owner, the universal corruption of the art, and the vitiated taste of the artist.* In their internal arrangements they still preserve the Gynæconitis, or apartments of the women, separate from the Andronitis, or those of the males;† and even in the dwellings of the poor the distinction is accurately observed.

cupola is to be a larger or smaller portion of a sphere; to the top of this is fastened a strong pole, so as to move in all directions, and the end of it describes the outer part of the cupola; lower down is fixed to the post another pole, which reaches to the top of the inner part of the perpendicular wall, and describes the inside of the cupola, giving the difference of thickness of the masonry at top and bottom, and every intermediate part, with the greatest possible exactness. As they build their cupolas with bricks, and instead of lime use gypsum, finishing one layer all round before they begin another, only scaffolding for the workmen is required to close the cupola at top."

To this I may add the following still more striking anecdote from the *Histoire de L'Archipel*, 18mo. Paris, 1698.

"La Sculpture et l'Architecture sont encore des Arts perdus pour les Grecs; ils n'en ont pas même les premiers principes; j'en ai vu qui bâtissoient d'abord toute leur maison, et qui perçoient ensuite les fenêtres dans les endroits où ils vouloient se donner du jour." L. iv. p. 380.

* Guy's, v. 1. p. 495. let. 31.

† The reader will remember this distinction so often marked by Homer:

"Αλλ'

The Turks are easily induced to abandon the profession of architecture to their rayahs; and all the modern buildings of Constantinople and the other cities are the works of Greeks, assisted occasionally by their Armenian fellow-subjects.*

2. *Sculpture* in Greece at the period of the Roman conquest, had already begun to exhibit symptoms of decline. During the commotions which under the successors of Alexander the Great had rent and impoverished Athens, her artists, abandoning their homes, had fled for protection to the cities of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, in Egypt and Asia. Here, and more especially at Seleucia, far removed from the constant contemplation of perfect models, and retaining merely their memory and taste, the imagination and genius of the Greeks were beginning gradually to decay, when the forma-

“ Ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ Πριάμοιο δόμον περικαλλέ’ ἴκανε,
 Ξεστῆσ’ αἰθούσῃσι τετυγμένον (αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ
 Πεντήκοντ’ ἦν εσαν θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοι,
 Πλησίοι ἀλλήλων δομημένοι· ἐνθάδε παῖδες
 Κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο παρὰ μνηστῆς ἀλόχοισι.
 Κουράων δ’ ἐωτέρθεν ἐναντίοι ἔνδοθεν αὐλῆς
 Δάδεςκ’ ἔσαν τέγχοι θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο,
 Πλησίοι ἀλλήλων δομημένοι. κ. τ. λ.

Iliad, vi. l. 242.

* See Mac Farlane's Constantinople in 1828, vol. i. p. 5. 141. vol. ii. p. 59.

tion of the Achaian League, and the partial restoration of their country, recalled them once more to their deserted schools. But the prospect of tranquillity was illusory; the continued dissensions of the League, or their rivals, tended to impoverish the cities of Greece; and so degenerate had the feelings of the nation already become, that in the bitterness of their strife the belligerents turned their arms even against the monuments of art possessed by their opponents.*

During the scene of endless turmoil which preceded the subjugation of Achaia, the practice of the arts was in a great degree suspended; and for nearly half a century previous

* Scopas, according to Polybius, in the war between the Etolians and Achaians, burned the galleries and other edifices, and destroyed the statues of the Macedonian city of Dios, which had been abandoned by its inhabitants on his approach : *ἀνέστρεψε δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν βασιλείων ἀπάσας* . x. τ. λ. (l. iv. p. 326.) Dorimachus, the Ætolian prætor, in the same war plundered and overturned the temple of Jupiter at Dodona; *παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸ παρὰ Δοδῶν ἱερὸν, τὰς τε στοὰς ἐνέκρησε, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων διέφθειρε, κατέσκαψε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν οἰκίαν*. (ibid. l. iv. p. 331.) For these sacrilegious atrocities the Macedonians under Philip made ample reprisals, by the destruction of the monuments of Thermium. (ibid. l. iv. p. 358.) They burned the porticoes, destroyed the offerings in the temple, and broke or carried away, according to the same historian, not less than two thousand statues; *ἀνέστρεψαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, οὐκ ἑλάττους δι' ἑκατὸν ὄντας*. (ibid. l. v. p. 358.)

to the capture of Corinth, no one sculptor of eminence appeared in Greece.* Nor was their slumbering genius quickly aroused from its lethargy, since, from the latter period till the time of the triumvirate, the page of her history is equally barren in brilliant names.

The first symptoms of decline were discoverable in the passion for extreme delicacy of labour, in preference to chasteness of design, manifested by the Grecian sculptors under the successors of Alexander. It had before this time acquired its summit of excellence in the works of the artists from Praxiteles to Lysippus, who form what has been termed the "School of Beauty" in the history of the arts.†

* The Torso, or Hercules Belvidere, executed by Apollonius, an Athenian, about two centuries before Christ, and the celebrated Hercules Farnese by Glycon, attributed to the same period, are generally considered as the last great works of the Grecian chisel previous to the fall of Corinth. Winkermann, l. vi. c. 4. Musée Franç. p. 93. Disc. Sculp. The reader will perhaps remember the beautiful verses addressed to the former by the first of female poets:

" Consummate work, the noblest and the last

Of Grecian freedom, ere her reign was past," &c.

Mrs. Hemans' *Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy*, p. 24.

† Winkermann, adopting the idea of Scaliger regarding poetry, has assigned five epochs to the history of art among the Greeks; its invention; improvement, perfection, decline, and decay. The first of these he denominates the *ancient* style, dating it from Dedalus to Phidias; the second

In their hands invention and ideality had reached as it were their limits; and all that remained for future aspirants was an imitation of the immortal masters who had preceded them. Extraordinary precision of finish then became a substitute for boldness of conception; and sculpture, swerving from its masculine character, abandoned itself to the study of polish and decoration.*

It was at this crisis of her history that sculpture, after the ruin of Greece, was cast a dependant on the protection of the Romans. Athens, as the taste of Italy gradually improved, became the workshop for their supply;

the *sublime*, which continued from Phidias to Praxiteles, during which period ideality was added to the correct and rigid delineations of natural forms introduced by the early painters and sculptors; the third, or *beautiful* school, extends to the age of Alexander, when grace and expression were superadded to imagination and design; the fourth was the era of the *decline*, of which I now treat; and the fifth, its *decay*, usually includes the period from Septimus Severus to Constantine the Great, when art virtually ceases to exist.—Winkelmann, l. iv. c. 6. Agincourt, v. ii. Sculp. Introd. p. 11.

* “Sous les règnes des empereurs et un peu avant, les artistes commencèrent à mettre une application singulière à traiter le marbre avec soin, et surtout à rendre flottantes les boucles des cheveux; ils s’attachèrent à rendre tous les détails jusqu’aux poils des surcils,” &c. (Winkelmann, l. iv. c. vi.) “On croyoit montrer un talent particulier en prononçant fortement les veines, contre la maxime des anciens.” (ibid.)

and Cicero, in one of his epistles to Atticus, charges him to procure for him various productions of her artists. But the number of Athenians who had forborne to desert their country was trifling when compared with the crowd of distinguished names who during the Augustan age pursued the profession of the arts at Rome. Amongst the latter were Dioscorides and Pasiteles, the lapidaries; Gnaïos, the sculptor of the head of Hercules in the Strozzi cabinet;* Evander, of whom Horace makes honourable mention;† Diogenes, who adorned the Pantheon of Agrippa; Crito, Nicolaus, Stephanus, and Menalus, to the latter of whom has been attributed the Orestes and Electra of the Villa Ludovisi. Her bereavement of such sons as these soon tended to depress the popular taste of Athens; and on comparing the Grecian medals and other relics of this age with those executed in Italy, the preference is decidedly in favour of the latter.

It is a proof, however, of that fictitious feeling among the Romans, to which I have elsewhere alluded, that the works of these artists, numbers of whose productions have been justly classed

* Ibid. l. vi. c. 5.

† “ ————— mensave catillum

Evandri manibus tritum dejecit.”—l. i. Sat. iii. l. 90.

with those of their immortal ancestors,* were but lightly esteemed at Rome. As the city became crowded with the spoils of Greece,† their possessors, gradually imbibing a new species of rivalry, vied with each other, not in the excellence, but the antiquity of their marbles;‡ and the beauties of a modern work were overlooked and despised, when brought into competition with the rude efforts of a remoter age.§

* Musée Franç. p. 93.

† Pliny, l. xxxiv. c. 7.

‡ "Insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo."

Horace, l. ii. s. 3. l. 63.

And again,

"I nunc argentum, et *marmor vetus*, æraque et artes
Suspice," &c. Ep. l. ii. ep. 6. l. 17.

The first epistle of his second book is exclusively devoted to the censure of this absurd mania, which operated likewise to the prejudice of literature. Quintilian refers to the same absurd custom in the tenth chapter of his twelfth book, which contains his admirable essay on varieties of oratorical style. "Primi quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratiâ visenda sunt, clari pictores fuisse dicuntur Polygnotus atque Aglaophon, quorum simplex color tam sui studiosos adhuc habet, ut illa prope rudia ac velut futuræ mox artis primordia, maximis, qui post eas exstiterunt auctoribus præferantur, proprio quodam intelligendi (ut mea fert opinio) ambitu."

§ The passion seems to have continued down to the time of Domitian, as we may infer from Martial:

"Non est fama recens, nec nostri gloria cœli;
Nobile Lysippi munus, opusque vides."—Lib. ix. e. 44.

Pride, and not feeling or admiration, was, in fact, at all times the stimulus of the Romans to the cultivation of the fine arts. Even in the age of Augustus, the popular standard of value seems to have been regulated, not by merit or by mind, but by the puerile test of antiquity and elaborate finish; and the talent of the Grecian sculptors, even those the most endowed with genius or imagination, was employed, not on designs calculated to develope their intellectual powers, but in chiselling those busts and figures which were to perpetuate the names of their patrons. In these, of course, continued practice produced the most consummate skill; and we find, especially in later times, works of the Roman schools unrivalled in their excellence.* But at the same time, this perfection was attained only by the sacrifice of more exalted branches of the art; and it has been well observed, that although Lysippus himself could not have produced a bust superior to that of Caracalla,† still the artist who designed it would have been equally incapable of rivalling a work of Lysippus.‡

* Such are the heads of Macrinus, Septimus Severus, and Caracalla. Winkelmann, l. iv. c. 6.

† At the Farnese palace.

‡ We find this observation to hold good even in the age of Augustus, all whose statues which have reached us are of

In monarchical governments we can generally discover a key to the tastes and manners of the times in the peculiar characteristics of their sovereigns; and the arts especially will be found in every era to take their tone from the habits of the court. At Rome, in particular, this principle was accurately demonstrated by the varied genius of the emperors. Thus sculpture, which under Augustus had still borne a dignified and manly air,* degenerated at once into frivolity and licentiousness under Tiberius,† and was employed by Caligula and Claudius in placing their own portraits on the

indifferent merit, whilst his busts and portraits engraved in jewels are of the most exquisite workmanship. The decline too was so rapid, that in the reign of Caligula, only about twenty years after, the Emperor is described by Suetonius as breaking off the heads of Grecian statues to replace them with his own; thus tacitly admitting the inferiority of the artists of the age in the delineation of figure, however great their excellence in chiselling the head. Pliny, too, satirizes the practice, which continued to his time: "Artes desidia perdidit," says he in another place, in speaking of the Roman portraits in the reign of Vespasian, "et quoniam animorum imagines non sunt, negliguntur etiam corporum." (l. xxxv. c. 2.) Philemon Holland, in translating this passage, has rendered it thus: "*Thus it is come to passe, that while artificers play them and sit still for want of worke, noble arts by these meanes are decayed and perished.*" (Plinius' Historie of the World, Lond. fol. 1601.)

* Agincourt, v. ii. Sc. Introd. p. 15.

† Winkelmann, l. vi. c. 5.

shoulders of Grecian statues which they had mutilated for the purpose. Of the age of Nero scarcely any marbles have reached us, but of the style of the period, we have ample records in the historians of the tyrant. The same passion for extravagance developed in his architecture manifested itself in the colossal statues and paintings of himself raised under his own directions; and the depravity of his taste is sufficiently evinced by the fact recorded by Pliny of his gilding the statue of Alexander by Lysippus.*

Still, even in this age of depravity, there

* Greece had been robbed by Caligula of a number of her remaining statues, which he caused to be carried to Rome, under the direction of his minion Memmius Regulus. The difficulty of transporting the Phidian Jupiter alone prevented its removal from Olympia. (Suetonius, Calig. c. 22.) In imitation of so worthy a model, Nero dispatched Acratus and Secundus Carinus into the Peloponnesus on a similar errand. "Enimvero per Asiam et Achaïam non dona tantum sed simulacra numinum abripiebantur, missis in eas provincias Acrato et Secundo Carinate. Ille libertus cuicumque flagitio promptus, hic Græca doctrina ore tenus exercitus, animum bonis artibus non imbuerat." (Tacitus Annal. l. xv. 45.) So successful were their ravages, that amongst other treasures they brought away from Delphi alone, five hundred statues of bronze, which the tyrant applied to the decoration of his golden house. Amongst these splendid spoils was the celebrated Apollo Belvidere and the Gladiator of the Borghese palace, which were discovered at Anzio, the birth-place of Nero.

survived some spirits worthy of their ancient fame, who seemed to stand aloof from corruption; but their works can in no degree be regarded as specimens of popular talent or national taste. Such are the busts of Nero and Poppeia, and the sedent statue of Agrippina, the mother of the tyrant, productions worthy of the brightest days of Greece.*

The brief and despicable reigns of the successors of Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, afforded scope neither for the cultivation nor improvement of sculpture; but under Vespasian, the exertions of the court seemed strenuously directed to the restoration of letters and refinement. The professors of the liberal arts found ample remuneration and protection in the dominions of the Emperor; and the gardens of Sallust, where he had fixed his favourite residence, were crowded, like the groves of the Academy, with the last scions of Grecian and of Roman genius. The ruins of this elegant retreat have proved a rich mine to the antiquary, and its precincts still afford an ample reward to the investigations of the scientific explorer.†

* Winkelmann, l. vi. c. 6. Agincourt, v. ii. *Introd. Sculp.* p. 15.

† So late as 1765, two female statues, considerably mutilated, but of extreme beauty, were dug out from the gardens of Sallust; and Winkelmann observes, "Aussi a-t-on trouvé

But it would be alike tedious and unnecessary to enter into the minutiae of the decline of sculpture during the stormy and barbarous age which intervened from the death of Vespasian to the reign of Constantine the Great; the only brighter portion of it would be the interval between the accession of Trajan and that of Commodus, whilst the former, and his successors Hadrian and the Antonines, held the sceptre of Rome. The most enthusiastic patronage was then bestowed upon the Greeks;* but the efforts of the emperors were fruitlessly directed to recall the lost spirit of the Athenians. Their long neglected talents were verging on extinction, and the generous exertions of the throne were bestowed on an expiring object; they could only retard, but not turn aside the sure approach of dissolution. The Greeks, already benumbed by tyranny, had abandoned every other feeling than a calm endurance of their bondage; and in lieu of manly aspirings to overthrow the declining power of their despots, they dreamed only of crouching subserviency and base conciliation. With a profane imitation en fouillant ce terrain une grande quantité de statues et de bustes."—l. vi. c. 6.

* The column of Trajan was erected under the superintendence of Apollodorus, an Athenian, and presents in its sculptures a variety and richness of invention worthy a more glorious era.

tion of their great progenitors, they even sought to raise statues to the honour of their heartless rulers, but their humbled powers were no longer adequate to the task ; and with a sacrilegious hand they were wont to erase the legend from the monuments of their fathers, and inscribe them afresh with the names of their enslavers.

Barbarism, says Winkelmann, introduced itself as it were instantaneously at Rome, and taste was extinguished at one blow by the death of Marcus Aurelius. The host of monarchs who, during the third century, aspired to, for they cannot be said to have enjoyed, the Roman throne, were undistinguished by talents and unenlightened by education ; their tempestuous dynasty seemed destined to annihilate the arts of peace ; and when at length the restorer of Byzantium resolved on bearing with him to the Bosphorus the surviving remnants of Roman genius, "the eternal city" lost at once her pre-eminence in learning, in empire, and in art. But long previous to this event, the distinguishing excellence of sculpture had disappeared. As in the revolutions of age, the intellect of mankind seems under the influence of years to retrace its steps and relapse from manly vigour into second childhood ; so art, when it had once passed its meridian splendour, became gradually divested of every attribute

that had given dignity to its maturity. Stripped by degrees of grace, ideality, and invention, it had relapsed in the time of Constantine into that state of primitive simplicity in which it had been first known in Greece; its loftiest efforts reached no higher than a rude and often unsuccessful imitation of external forms, unrelieved by those touches of genius by which the Promethean hand of the former Greeks had breathed as it were a portion of their own spirit into the sluggish stone, and led it forth instinct with all the passions of humanity.

After this period, Rome, comparatively overlooked by the emperors and abandoned to her fate, became gradually overwhelmed by the night of ignorance and barbarism. Ravaged from age to age by successive hosts of spoilers, the last traces of her lofty spirit were eradicated. The huge fabrics of her greatness disappeared, and entombed beneath the mass of their own gigantic ruins, ceased to remind or upbraid her with her fall. At length, after ten centuries of unbroken torpor, the light of intellect beamed once more across the Adriatic, and Rome awoke from her slumber. The spirit of Augustus again swayed the destinies of the seven-hilled city, and the golden age of learning and of science commenced throughout the nations of the West.

The ruins amassed by time were rolled away from the monuments of her fathers, and the treasures of the ancient Greeks, long buried beneath them, advanced into light, and awoke a new era of taste throughout the world. The imperial city had served but as the majestic mausoleum of imperishable Greece; and when the moment of her resurrection had arrived, her ethereal spirit, bursting the bonds of its Roman sepulchre, rose pure and immortal from her temporary tomb.

The care which Constantine the Great bestowed on the embellishment of his new capital, served to give employment to those artists who had followed in his train;* but the ravages which time and fanaticism have made in the sculpture of the middle ages, have left us but few specimens from which to make a satisfactory estimate of their abilities. It is only by referring to the productions of Italy in the same period, that we can form any calculation of their value, and these amply attest the established dominion of that barbarism to which I have alluded. It is, however, an erroneous theory, which represents the progress of Christianity as the cause of this precipitate corrup-

* See a copious enumeration of the works of Constantine at Byzantium, in Emeric-David's *Discours sur la Peinture Mod.* p. 11. compiled from Eusebius, Zosimus, and others.

tion: the destiny of the arts was in other hands than those of the persecuted converts who, during the first centuries of the Church, maintained the faith of Christ; nor would it be difficult to prove that even these individuals contributed to retard rather than to accelerate the decay. Several centuries elapsed, in fact, ere images were employed in their worship;* and in lieu of richly adorned temples, where the exhibition of their sacred delineations could have an influence on popular taste, they were driven for the culture of their religion, as well as the safety of their persons, to

* "*Ecclesia vero Christiana tribus seculis prioribus nequidem imagines recepit, aut inter sacra numeravit instrumenta. Sed demum sub finem quarti seculi ea lege admisit, ut in templis memoriæ ac ornatûs causa haberentur.*"—Reiskius de Imagin. Jesu Christi Exercitationes Histor. Ex. i. c. i. sec. 2. p. 12. "*Illud certe non prætermittam, nos dico Christianos, ut aliquando Romanos, fuisse sine imaginibus in primitiva quæ vocatur ecclesia.*"—Lillius Gregorius Gyraldus Historiæ Deorum Syntag. v. i. p. 15. The earliest images of Christ are those mentioned as being placed by Alexander Severus along with those of Abraham, Jupiter, Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle.—(Reiskius de Imaginibus, Ex. vii. c. i. sec. 1. p. 151. Gibbon, c. xl. ix.) Constantine afterwards placed two equestrian statues of the Saviour in the Lateran church; but Molanus, who mentions the latter fact, insists that there were existing about this period numerous statues which he would refer to the time of Pontius Pilate. (De Historia S. S. Imagin. l. i. c. 6. p. 65.)

the shelter of the sepulchres and catacombs, in which, after the manner of the ancient Hebrews, they were wont to inter their dead. It was on the adornment of these retreats, that during the ages of intolerance they bestowed that care which a more prosperous era enabled them subsequently to lavish on their churches and altars; and their sculpture and pictorial decorations still serve as the amplest illustrations of the arts during the early centuries.* These, as they have been successively brought to light, exhibit in numerous instances † a chasteness of design, and an elegance of execution, superior by far to the productions of the patronized professors of the same period; ‡ nor was it till Christianity had, in the fourth century, gained a legal ascendancy, that we find it

* Agincourt, vol. i. Architect. p. 16. vol. ii. Sculpt. p. 31. Peint. p. 23.

† Such are the sarcophagus of St. Constance and that of Junius Bassus, at present deposited in the Museum of the Vatican, both of which, and the latter especially, evince a beauty of design unequalled by any surviving production of the age of Constantine. The *Museum Christianum*, in the Vatican, abounds with urns and various fragments of the first centuries drawn from these sepulchres, whose excellence is striking. See Agincourt, vol. ii. Sculp. p. 30. 32. vol. iii. Sculp. p. 4. 5. Several of them are engraved in the same splendid work, in Pes. iv. v. and vi. illustrative of the decline of sculpture.

exercising an influence prejudicial to the arts, by destroying the monuments of paganism.*

It is to other causes, unconnected with religion, that we are to attribute the popular decline. Art, transplanted to the Tiber, had lost by the migration a number of those stimulants which aided its early advancement. The alteration and final abolition of the national games had removed from the sculptor one of his most efficient opportunities of perpetually contemplating the purest models of manly proportion and athletic vigour. The artist, taught to feel himself degraded by his profession, lost every spur to ambition or anxiety for distinction. The rude genius of the successors of Augustus was devoted to debauchery rather than refinement; and that servile adulation of the throne, which forms the leading characteristic of every national aristocracy, taught the wealthier portion of the empire, in whose hands were patronage and power, to manifest the same disregard for the intellectual embellishments of society. Besides, the intercourse of the Romans with their distant and unenlightened provinces, and their association with

* "La religion Chrétienne, d'humble qu'elle étoit, devint arrogante à son tour: poussés par un zèle indiscret, des furiens pillèrent les temples des payens."—Winkelmann, l. vi. c. 8.

the barbarians who, through choice or the chance of war, had settled in their dominions, tended imperceptibly but inevitably to vitiate the taste of the empire. And finally, as the Northern nations began to congregate around the confines of Rome, and to quarter themselves on its subjugated districts, their perpetual dissensions and revolts served to destroy that tranquillity so essential to the prosperity of the arts. From such a combination of causes we might naturally anticipate the most unfavourable effects; and the result was, that at the period when the empire of the East was established, the purity of sculpture and the other branches of design was virtually extinct.

During the entire extent of the fourth century, the fury of the Christians was remorselessly turned against the idols and statues of the discarded mythology. The temples of paganism, as convertible to the purposes of the Church, were visited with greater clemency, but still the injuries they sustained were irreparable; and amongst other instances, posterity has to regret the total demolition of the gorgeous temple of Serapis, at Alexandria, and the destruction of the innumerable works of sculpture which embellished it. So extensive were the ravages of superstition during this fanatical era, that when the Emperor Honorius deemed it necessary to

renew for the fourth time the edict against the proscribed images, he deemed it requisite to add a clause expressive of his doubt whether any had escaped destruction.* This pious outrage, however, was directed, not against the existence of the art, but what were considered to be the productions of its prostitution; the pedestals of the overthrown gods were quickly replenished with the statues of their more popular successors, the saints; and the walls and altars of the Christian churches were rapidly adorned with paintings and sculpture, which, in brilliancy at least, eclipsed those of the suppressed temples. The busts and portraits of the emperors, likewise, still served to perpetuate the practice of sculpture; but after the age of Constantine, scarcely any mention is made of its productions by the historians of Byzantium.† Almost the only subsequent records which we possess are those which refer to their destruction by the Goths,‡ and the madness of

* "Si qua etiam nunc in templis fanisque consistunt."

† Winkelmann, l. vi. c. 8.

‡ I have in a previous chapter (vol. i. p. 43.) ventured a conjecture as to the exaggerated accounts which have reached us of the ravages of the Goths in Greece and at Athens. On considering the extensive ruin entailed upon the treasures of the nation by the fanaticism of the early Christians, we are forced to conclude, that, on the advance of Alaric, but little was left for him to destroy. In this opinion I am glad to be

the ikonoclastic reformers; and the only specimens which remain are in a style which leaves us little regret in the loss of what have perished.

Towards the commencement of the seventh century, the corruptions of the Church, which led to the ikonoclastic controversy, had gained their height of enormity. The influence of superstition had overlaid every act and feeling

supported by an authority so great as that of M. Emeric-David: "*On a beaucoup exagéré*," says he, "*les ravages d'Alaric, et en général ceux qui accompagnèrent l'irruption des barbares.*" (Discours, &c. p. 35.) A stronger testimony still is that of Sidonius Apollinaris, the Bishop of Auvergne, who about the close of the fifth century enumerates a variety of the treasures of art then extant at Athens. In one of his epistles, addressed to the Roman pontiff Faustus, whilst cautioning him with regard to a proper observance of becoming dress, warning him to avoid pride in its fashion, profusion in its splendour, or affectation in its meanness, he adds, "Neque te satis hoc æmulari, quod per gymnasia pingantur Areopagitica, vel Prytaneum, curva cervice Zeusippus, Aratus panda, Zenon fronte contracta, Epicurus cute distenta, Diogenes barba comante, Socrates coma candente, Aristoteles brachio exerto, Xenocrates crure collecto, Heraclitus fletu oculis clausis, Democritus risu labris apertis, Chrysippus digitis propter numerorum indicia constrictis, Euclides propter mensurarum spatia laxatis, Cleanthes propter utrumque corrosis. Quin potius experiatur quisque conflixerit, Stoicos, Cynicos, peripateticos, heresiarchas, propriis armis, propriis quoque concuti machinamentis," &c.—Ep. l. ix. ep. 9. p. 252. Par. 1614.

of the Greeks; it had passed from the throne to the field; and whilst "Ave Maria" was the watchword of the camp, the soldier was taught to place more reliance on the protection of a palladiac image, than in his prowess or his sword.* The portraits and statues of the saints were asserted to be the direct workmanship of the Almighty, and were believed by the besotted populace to have uttered oracles, wept warm tears, and even bled beneath the knives of the incredulous.†

At last, the day of retribution came, and that vengeance, which the early enthusiasts had wreaked on the monuments of the heathen mythology, was in turn directed against the objects of their own idolatry. In the eighth century, Leo the Isaurian commenced his strenuous exertions for the outcasting of the national

* Such was the celebrated image of Edessa, to which the inhabitants were indebted for their preservation from the arms of Chosroes Nushirvan.—See Gibbon, c. xlix. The belief in the protection of these divine effigies was by no means exterminated by the vigorous measures of Leo and his successors. It spread with the faith of the Eastern church throughout the wilds of Russia; and so late as the thirteenth century, the warlike descendants of Ruric fell a prey to their Mogul invaders from an over-reliance in their sacred guardianship.

† Reiskius de Imaginibus Christi Exercitationes, Ex. vi. c. i. p. 136.

abomination ; and after the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 754, he began the ikonoclastic war, by hurling from its pedestal a lofty statue of the Saviour which decorated the entrance of the imperial palace. The mania spread throughout the East, and in every quarter the venerated effigies of the primitive saints were levelled with the dust, and their restoration prohibited by the edicts of the throne.

This celebrated revolution, by destroying the main occupation of the artists, gave a final blow to the cultivation of sculpture in the East. Its professors, precipitately retiring from the persecutions of Leo and the Patriarchs, found a ready asylum under the protection of the Vatican ; and almost in the course of the succeeding century the art became virtually extinct at Constantinople. Occasionally, it was employed for the decoration of the churches in bassi-relievi, and trifling ornaments, but the works of the statuary had for ever disappeared.* As the poverty of the empire increased, even this employment for the carvers of marble be-

* Agincourt, vol. i. Tab. Hist. p. 63. In casting of bronzes, too, the Greeks seem still to have preserved a portion of skill superior to the Italians ; and in 1070, Hildebrand, afterwards distinguished as Gregory VII. being charged by Alexander II. with a mission to Constantinople, procured the brazen gate of St. Paul extra muros at Rome.

came rare, since the cost of the bare material had become a burthen to the treasury.

In a preceding section, I have detailed the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in the thirteenth century, and the destruction of the remnants of ancient art, which, having survived the ravages of time and the church, were congregated at the capital.* This event may be considered as the final blow to the very existence of sculpture in Greece; its practice was already extinct, and its productions were annihilated by the soldiers of the Cross. Those which were not borne away to Europe and the West, were destroyed by the barbarity of the soldiery: and Baldwin, the last unhappy monarch of the Latin dynasty, was forced, in the extremity of his destitution, to melt the antique statues of bronze which had fallen to his lot, in order to coin them for the support of his household.

3. The origin of *Painting* in Greece, like that of architecture and sculpture, is involved in obscurity and fable. Pliny, who has left us by far the most valuable documents relative to its early history,† was himself led into nu-

* An enumeration of a portion of these will be found in Gibbon, and a very minute and perfect detail, by M. Heyne, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Gottingen*.

† The thirty-fifth book of his *Historia Naturalis* is exclu-

merous errors by his partiality for Italy and Athens, and has ventured assertions with regard to the Egyptians and earlier possessors of design, which modern investigation has proved to be in every respect erroneous.* But whatever be the date of its introduction into the Peloponnesus, we have at least sufficient evidence of its rapid advancement; and specimens still remain whose authenticity is undoubted, and whose rude workmanship refers them at once to the earliest era of the art.

Design, both in painting and sculpture, has been referred by the Roman historian, with every appearance of probability, to the outline of a shadow traced by the flame of a lamp;†

sively devoted to the annals of painting, sculpture, and design, and contains copious lists of those of the Greeks and Romans who distinguished themselves in each.

* Thus he sneers at the idea of the Egyptians being possessed of painting before the Greeks, and evidently endeavours to bestow the honour of its first invention on the latter. "*Ægypti sex millibus annorum apud ipsos inventam (picturam scilicet) priusquam in Græciam transiret, affirmant, vana prædictione, ut palam est.*" (l. xxxv. c. 3.) His assertion of the perfection of the art in Italy, at the time when it was merely in its infancy in Greece, is likewise of dubious accuracy. "*Jam enim absoluta erat pictura etiam in Italia.*" (Ibid.) See the *Antiquités Grecques*, &c. of M. Le Comte Caylus, v. i. p. 118.

† The tales grounded on this graceful incident are various, but all simply beautiful. Such is the story of a shepherdess drawing with her crook the shadow of her companion cast by

which was subsequently improved by the insertion of the necessary internal lines,* and finally brought to a perfect imitation of nature by the use and modulation of colours.† The

the sun upon the sand ; or the more elegant legend of Saurias marking with his spear the reflection of his horse. Pliny has adopted the popular episode of Core, the daughter of Dubitades the Corinthian, who suggested to her father the first idea of modelling in clay, by tracing on the wall the profile of her sleeping lover : “Ejusdem opere terræ fingere ex argilla similitudines Dubitades Sicyonius figulus, primus invenit Corinthi, filix opera: quæ capta amore juvenis, illo abeunte peregre, umbram ex facie ejus, ad lucernam in pariete lineis circumscrispsit,” &c.—Plin. l. xxxv. c. 12. Athenagoras, in his Apology for the Christians, addressed to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Commodus, has enumerated all the Greek traditions referring to this interesting inquiry. Σαυρίου δὲ τοῦ Σαμίλου καὶ Κράτωνος τοῦ Σικυωνίου, καὶ Κλεάνθους τοῦ Κορινθίου καὶ Κόρης Κορινθίας ἐπιγενομένων· καὶ σκιαγραφίας μὲν εὐρεθείσης ὑπὸ Σαυρίου ἵππον ἐν ἡλίῳ περιγράφσαντος, γραφικῆς δὲ ὑπὸ Κράτωνος, ἐν πίνακι λευκαυμένῳ σκιάς ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐναλείψαντος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κόρης ἡ κοροπλαστικὴ εὐρέθη ἑρωτικῶς γάρ τινος ἔχουσα περιέγραψεν αὐτὸν κοιμωμένον ἐν τοῦχῳ τὴν σκιάν.—Athenagoras Legatio pro Christianos, xiv.

* “Spargentes lineas intus.”—Pliny.

† The simple outline, or *Monogram*, was first distinguished from the ground by being painted with *one* colour (originally red), whence it derived the title of *Monochromaton*. Of this early style of painting, four specimens, dug from the ruins of Herculaneum, are preserved in the museum at Portici. To these succeeded *Polychromes*, in which various colours were employed as the variety of costume and other accidents of

mechanical process thus attained, its susceptibilities of expression and application were rapidly discovered by its cultivators;* and it became successively enhanced by the additions of symmetry, beauty, and ideality, conferred upon it by Phidias, Apollodorus, Parrhasius, Zeuxis,

the picture demanded. And finally, the addition of light and shade, together with the modulations of tone, gave the last essential requisite to the art of painting. The account of these successive discoveries by Pliny is brief and judicious: "Græci autem alii Sicyone, alii apud Corinthios repertam, *omnes umbra hominis lineis circumducta*. Itaque talem primam fuisse; secundam *singulis coloribus, et monochromaton* dictam, postquam operosior inventa erat; duratque talis etiam nunc. Inventam linearem dicunt a Philocle Ægyptio, vel Cleanthe Corinthio. Primi exercuere Ardices Corinthius, et Telephanes Sicyonius, sine ullo etiamnum colore, jam tamen *spargentes lineas intus*. Ideo et quos pingerent, adscribere institutum. Primus invenit eas *colorare, testa* (ut ferunt) *trita*, Cleophantus Corinthius."—l. xxxv. c. 3. ". . . Qui monochromatea genera picturæ vocaverint, qui deinde, et quæ quibus temporibus invenerint, dicemus in mentione artificum, quoniam indicare naturas colorum, causa instituti operis prior est. Tandem se ars ipsa distinxit, et invenit *lumen atque umbras*, differentia colorum alterna vice sese excitante. Deinde adjectus est *splendor*, alius hic quàm lumen: quem quia inter hoc et umbram esset, appellaverunt *tonon*: commissuras vero colorum et transitus, *harmogen*."—l. xxxv. c. v.

* "Verely," says Holland, in his translation of Pliny, "no art in the world grew sooner to its height of perfection than it, considering that during the state of Troy no man knew what painting was."

and Timanthes. Finally, it reached its highest point of perfection in the works of Aristides* and Apelles,† who flourished about the middle of the fourth century before the birth of Christ, and who achieved the final triumph of the art by endowing it with passion and expression.

For upwards of a century, painting maintained the glorious pre-eminence which it had now acquired: it adorned, in all its purity, the age of Alexander, and the reigns of his earliest successors;‡ but the same causes which contributed to the decay of sculpture, led likewise to its corruption. As Greece verged towards her decline, each shock sustained by the political constitution of the state produced a visible effect on the genius of her artists. By degrees, each branch was shorn of its commanding strength; and at length, on the subjugation of Achaia by the Romans, painting, as well as the other arts, survived but in a sickly and enfeebled form, which careful nurture might have renovated, but which tyranny and barbarism served only to destroy.

The patronage granted the Greek painters

* “Animum pinxit (Aristides) et sensus hominum expressit quæ vocant Græci ethe.”—Plin. l. xxxv. c. 10.

† “Omnes prius genitos, futurosque postea superabat Apelles.”—Ibid.

‡ Quintilian, l. xii. c. 10.

by the Romans was, the same haughty protection which they had vouchsafed to the professors of the sister arts, and which tended to annihilate whilst it professed to support them. Even before the conquest of Corinth, the taste for works of design, which the spoils of Greece* had introduced into Rome, had been tainted by luxury and a vain ambition of splendour, which the growing wealth of the empire materially contributed to foster. Ideality was postponed to effect, and the gratification of the eye was preferred to the elevation of the mind. It is to this passion that we are to attribute the early application of mosaics, which had been originally designed for pavements alone, to the decoration of the walls and ceilings of the Roman edifices, and finally, in the reign of Claudius, to the composition of portraits and design. The brilliancy of the materials, and the costliness of the workmanship bestowed upon these productions, gave them value in the eyes of their possessors,† in whose estimation beauty was inconsistent with chasteness and simplicity.‡ An invention unequal in itself to the

* Deposited in the temples by Metellus, Scipio, and Paulus Æmilius, and subsequently by Mummius and Sylla.

† Emeric-David, p. 15.

‡ This custom is severely satirized by Vitruvius, one of the most judicious connoisseurs of his own or any subsequent

first embodiment of thought, but calculated to render imperishable the designs of the painter, was by this means prevented by caprice and ostentation; the corruption of art thus destroying the very source whence its own subjects were to be derived.*

A love of novelty likewise, united with this degraded taste, led to the adoption of fantastic styles of decoration; and so early as the reign of Augustus, we find the admirers of legiti-

age. "Quod enim antiqui insumentes laborem et industriam probare contendebant artibus, id nunc *coloribus* et eorum eleganti specie consequuntur; et quam subtilitas artificis adjiciebat operibus auctoritatem, nunc dominicus sumptus efficit ne desideretur."—Vitruv. l. vii. c. 5. And Pliny, at a later period, applies the same caustic criticism to the same unmeaning vice. "Imaginum quidem pictura quam maxime similes in ævum propagabantur figuræ: quod in totum exolevit. Ærei ponuntur clypei, argenteæ facies, surdo figurarum discrimine statuarum capita permutantur, vulgatis jampridem salibus etiam carminum. Adeo materiam malunt conspici omnes, quam se nosci . . . ipsi honorem non nisi in pretio ducentes," &c.—Pliny, l. xxxv. c. 2.

* A detailed account of the invention and history of Mosaics will be found in the *Vetera Monumenta* of Ciampini, and in the Treatise de Musivis of Furielli, printed at Rome in 1752. But more condensed information is given in the discourse on Ancient Painting, in the Musée Français, and in the second volume of Agincourt's *Decline of Sculpture*, p. 27. Winkelmann also has treated of it, but unsatisfactorily, in his *Dissertation sur la Peinture*, in the eighth chapter of his fourth book.

mate art complaining of the frivolous and unmeaning purposes to which the practice of design had even then become confined. In lieu of the sublime delineations of the gods of Greece or the heroes of antiquity, their pictures abounded with the jests of clowns or the figures of imaginary monsters; and the absurdities of arabesques and oriental extravagancies supplied the place of historic incident and inspiring passion.* The prevalence of this unmeaning predilection for unnatural extravagancies, operated quickly in the degradation of

* The introduction of arabesques is attributed by Pliny to a painter of the age of Augustus. "Non fraudando et Ludio, Divi Augusti ætate, qui primus instituit amoenissimam parietum picturam, villas et porticos, ac topiaria opera, lucos, nemora, colles, piscinas, uripos, amnes, litora qualia quis optaret, varias ibi obambulantium species, aut navigantium terraque villas adeuntium, asellis aut vehiculis," &c.—Pliny, l. xxxv. c. 10. It is somewhat singular to find this writer, who is so sensibly alive to the decline of the art in his own times, applauding rather than censuring this prostitution of painting. But Vitruvius, who writes at an earlier era, and gives a pitiable detail of the subjects adopted by the painters of the Augustan age, seems to descry with prophetic acumen the approaching ruin of design, and speaks of the artists in arabesque with proper feelings of indignant contempt. "Nampinguntur tectoriis," he exclaims, "monstra potius quam ex rebus finitis imagines certæ. Pro columnis enim statuuntur calami, pro fastigiis harpaginetuli striati cum crispis foliis et volutis; item candelabra ædicularum sustententia figuras,

painting, by giving a popular interest to a style of composition which discarded in its design all knowledge of human feeling or study of human form, and whose execution was dependent neither on accuracy of drawing nor elegance of proportion.*

The noble uses of the art can never, in fact, be said to have been recognized by the Romans, who applied it merely to the purposes of ostentation or amusement. Even in the

supra fastigia earum surgentes ex radicibus cum volutis colliculi teneri plures, habentes in se sine ratione sedentia sigilla, &c. Hæc autem nec sunt nec fieri ponunt nec fuerunt. . . . At hæc falsa videntes homines non reprehendunt sed delectantur neque animadvertunt si quid eorum fieri potest nec ne.—Vitruv. l. vii. c. 5. p. 166, 167.

* Agincourt has devoted one of the plates of his superb work (No. ii. *Peint. Decad.*) to the illustration of a few of the bizarre productions of this age. Several of the subjects, (such as Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, and 12,) represent scenes totally devoid of interest, the shops of a fisherman and a shoe-maker, a money-changer and potter, a house without figures, and a group of fowls: these were found at Pompeii and Herculaneum. No. 3. is a landscape on the shores of the Nile, where a countryman is pulling his ass laden with bottles by the tail in order to save it from a crocodile, which has already devoured its head. No. 4. is a ludicrous combat of pigmies. And No. 5. which was discovered in 1760 in the ruins of Gargano, near Naples, is a caricature of Æneas, Anchises, and Ascanius, representing each with a pig's head.—See vol. ii. *Peint. Decad.* p. 16. and vol. iii. *Tab. des Planches Peint.* p. 2, 3.

delineation of portraits, their ambition was splendour of costume, not faithfulness of form;* and long before the accession of Constantine, design and conception may be considered to have been totally lost, and their want supplied by gilding, and brilliant but unharmonious colours.† Nor can the annals of classical Rome be said to have produced one painting of attractive merit.‡

The love of splendour manifested by Constantine, which exceeded even that of Dioclesian, was imbibed by his sons, and is evinced in every monument of their reigns which has reached us.

* The reader will contrast with this the anecdote of Apelles and his pupil, when the latter having completed a portrait of Helen bedecked with jewels, the immortal artist remarked, "That, failing to paint her beautiful, he had made her splendid." The apothegm, though common, was lost on the Romans.

† "Ce vice s'accrut lorsque la peinture éloignée de son but moral fut considéré comme un simple moyen de décoration. Héliogabale, Gallien, Aurelien, et ses successeurs la favorisèrent par un faste immodéré. L'or et le minium repandus avec profusion dans les peintures couvroient les murs des palais, et formèrent pour des juges ignorans le principale mérite."—Emeric-David, p. 17.

‡ Perhaps the best specimens of Roman painting are the decorations of the sepulchre of the Nasones, discovered in the Via Flaminia, in 1674, and attributed to the second century. They are figured in Bellori's illustrations of this interesting antique.

The painter, in his elaborate execution of embroidery and jewels in their portraits, overlooked the more important items of form and proportion;* and whilst their busts still exhibited some slight traces of expression, and their draperies retained the character of the ancient style, the symmetry of figure and the grace or eloquence of action were forgotten.† During this and the two succeeding centuries, the practice of historical painting was gradually abandoned, and the talents of the artist were employed almost exclusively on works of a sacred nature. This revolution is easily accounted for by the decay of public taste for classical subjects, the abhorrence manifested against the exploded mythology of the Greeks and Romans, and the fanaticism and religious intole-

* Emeric-David, pp. 24. 40.

† The earliest specimens now extant of miniature painting and illumination of manuscripts, an art of extreme antiquity according to Pliny, (l. xxxv. c. 2.) date from the fourth century and the age of Constantine. Of these, the most ancient at present known is the MS. Genesis of the Imperial library at Vienna, which contains a number of paintings illustrative of the lives of Adam and the Patriarchs. Their execution and design attest strongly the existing corruption of the art. Contemporary with these is the MS. Virgil of the Vatican, and, according to Winkelmann, the Terence of the same collection. (l. vi. c. 8.) The grotesque sketches of the former will be found copiously figured in the fifth volume of Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art*, Nos. xx. xxi. xxii. xxiii. xxiv. and xxv.

rance with which, from the conclusion of the third century, the Greeks were so blindly beset. Ere pursuing the tale of the gradual corruption of the art, it may be well to give a brief account of the origin and progress of these branches of design, and the successive forms under which the person and actions of Christ were represented in the first ages of the Church.

The earliest delineations of the Saviour were those which, as I have before mentioned, were employed in decorating the catacombs of the primitive Christians. But even in these obscure retreats, the vigilance of persecution obliged the proscribed followers of the new creed to conceal under allegories and mystery the venerated memorials of their faith;* and in the paintings of this gloomy period, the figure of the Redeemer is always veiled under an assumed character. His most ordinary representation was that of a shepherd bearing in his arms a lamb which had strayed from the fold;† and the circumstances of his death and

* Agincourt, v. ii. Peint. Decad. p. 24.

† This allegory is perhaps the most common and the earliest under which we find a representation of the Saviour: it occurs in the vault of the catacomb of the Via Latina. (See Aringhi *Roma Subterranea*, v. ii. p. 25.) and in that of Priscilla, in the Via Salara, discovered in 1776, (ib. p. 298.) both of which are supposed to be among the earliest Christian

resurrection were typified by the stories of Jonas, of Abraham and Isaac, and of Daniel delivered from the den of the lions.* Amongst the primitive emblems, likewise, we find ideas borrowed from the poetry of the Greeks; and the vault of a sepulchral chamber in the cemetery of St. Calixtus represents Jesus under the form of Orpheus taming with his lyre the rude passions of Nature.†

In the second century, the attention of the monuments existing. Its use continued down to the seventh and eighth centuries.

* The examples of all these allegories are numerous. The peril of Jonas forms the principal decoration of a sarcophagus in the Villa Medici, discovered in the cemetery of the Vatican, and described in Aringhi, *Rom. Sub. v. i. p. 335*. And the stories of Abraham and Daniel are represented on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, to which I have already referred as one of the best remains of the fourth century. The cover of an urn, figured in Agincourt, vol. iv. *Dec. Sculp. pl. v. No. 10*, and referred to the first centuries of Christianity, contains specimens of all three.

† Agincourt, vol. v. *Peint. Decad. pl. vi. fig. 3*. This classical taste was, however, soon abandoned, especially after the accession of Constantine, when the destruction of the works of ancient art gave a popular distaste to the adoption of its figures to the purposes of Christianity. Theodoret relates, that in the fifth century, a painter wishing to imitate a head of Jove in a portrait of Jesus, the impiety was instantly punished by the withering of his hands, which were only healed by the intercession of Gennadius, the archbishop of Constantinople.

Christians was turned more decidedly to an inquiry concerning the authentic features and person of the Redeemer. Of these, the sacred writings had left no memorial, nor did any record remain, either pictorial or descriptive, on this interesting point.* The scrutiny of the

* It would be tedious and misplaced to enter here into any discussions on the authenticity or age of the celebrated letter of Lentulus to the Roman senate, descriptive of the person of Jesus Christ. I subjoin the most approved version, namely, that which is printed in the second volume of the *Orthodoxographa* of Basle, (p. 1.)

“*Lentulus Hierosolymitanorum Præses S.P.Q. Romano.*

“*Adparuit nostris temporibus et adhuc est homo magnæ virtutis, nominatus Christus Jesus, qui dicitur à gentibus prophetaveritatis, quem ejus discipuli vocant filium Dei, suscitans mortuos et sanans languores. Homo quidem staturæ proceræ, spectabilis, vultum habens venerabilem, quem intuentes possunt et diligere et formidare: capillos vero circinos et crispas, aliquantum cœruliores et fulgentiores, ab humeris volitantes, discrimen habens in medio capitis juxta morem Nazarenorum: frontem planam et serenissimam, cum facie sine ruga ac macula aliqua, quam rubor moderatus venustat: nasi et oris nulla prorsus est reprehensio, barbam habens copiosam et rubram, capillorum colore, non longam sed bifurcatam: oculis variis et claris existentibus. In increpatione terribilis, in admonitione placidus ac amabilis, hilaris servata gravitate, qui nunquam visus est ridere, flere autem sæpe. Sic in statura corporis propagatus, manus habens et membra visu delectabilia, in eloquio gravis, rarus et modestus, speciosus inter filios hominum.*”

Besides numerous versions of this singular epistle in German, French, and Italian, two others in Latin are particu-

Scriptures tended, in fact, rather to bewilder than to facilitate these investigations, since two

larly remarkable; viz. that of Xaverius, a Spanish Jesuit, who introduces it in his *Historia Christi*, (Pars iv. p. 538,) a work abounding with monkish fictions, written in Persian, at the request, as the author informs us, of Acbar, the magnificent Emperor of Hindostan. It has been rendered into Latin by Le Dieu, and from his translation Fabricius has transcribed the version of Lentulus's letter, which is inserted in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. i. p. 302. The other is preserved in a MS. in the library of Jena, which bears date A. D. 1502, and is preceded by the following title; "*Temporibus Octaviani Cæsaris, Publius Lentulus, Proconsul in partibus et Judææ et Herodis Regis, Senatoribus Romanis hanc Epistolam scripsisse fertur, quæ postea ab Eutropio reperta est in Annalibus Romanorum.*" It is needless to tell the reader that Eutropius affords no authority for such an assertion; that it is still doubtful whether he was a Pagan or a Christian, and that the passages in the lives of Augustus and Tiberius, relative to Jesus Christ, are more than suspected by Vossius and others to be amongst the numerous interpolations made in this historian by Paulus Diaconus, in the ninth century. The several copies of the letter of Lentulus differ in several particulars from each other, but the discrepancies are in general non-essential. The authenticity of all has been attacked and supported by numerous ecclesiastics and antiquaries; but as the assertions of the former have been merely assailed by the conjectures of the latter, and neither party can adduce historical evidence in support of their arguments, the decision is still unsatisfactory, though decidedly the sceptics have by far the most popular and probable side of the question.

Molanus, Chiffletius, and Huarte, (see Bayle, *Dict. Hist. art. Huarte*,) have each asserted the reality of the letter;

passages, equally esteemed as prophetic, and professing to describe the person of the Messiah, differed essentially from each other. Isaiah, in announcing his advent, spoke of him as without "form or comeliness, and when we see him there is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."* Whilst David, on the other hand, exclaims, with sacred rapture, "Thou art fairer than the children of

whilst it has been denied on numerous grounds, but chiefly from the internal evidence of its corrupted idiom, and the silence of all the early fathers down to the eighth century, by Laurentius Valla, in his *Declamation against the Donation of Constantine to Sylvester*, by John Raynoldes, Professor of Divinity of Oxford under Queen Elizabeth, (see his *Treatise de Romanæ Eccles. Idolatria*, l. ii. c. iii. p. 394.), by Gerhard, a commentator on Hugo Grotius, and by a long list of other names of equal authority. A summary of these will be found in Fabricius, *Codex Apoc. Nov. Test.* vol. i. p. 302. Reiskius, *Exercitationes de Imag. Christi*, Ex. vii. c. i. p. 149. and in Le Dieu's Annotations to Xaverius' *Histor. Christ.* p. 636. Of one point we are at least certain, that in the early ages of the Church the Christians were totally unaware of the existence of this or any similar document.

I have not referred to, nor transcribed the account of the person of Jesus contained in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, a Greek monk of the fourteenth century, as, being of very late date, and founded solely on avowed tradition, it possesses but little interest; it is contained in the fortieth chapter of his first book.

* Isa. c. liii. v. 2.

men, and grace is poured into thy lips. Gird on thy sword upon thy thigh, oh thou most mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty.* With that characteristic anxiety for converting rhetoric into logic,† which has ever distinguished ecclesiastical disputations, these two passages were quickly seized upon by the fathers; and each attributing to his favourite text a literal rather than an allegorical import, the Church was for several succeeding centuries divided on the important question of the beauty or deformity of the Saviour.‡ At the head of the one party was Justin, supported by Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian,§ Origen, Basil, and Cyrilus, who maintained, that as Christ visited the earth in meekness and humility, his exterior was correspondingly abject. Celsus, on the other hand, exclaims with sneering incredulity, "What! Christ not lovely? then was he not God!" an opinion in which the reviler of Christianity had a long list of orthodox followers, Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Theodoret.

Whilst this controversy was in progress, the

* Ps. xlv. v. 2, 3.

† Selden.

‡ "An pulcher fuerit Salvator, an ater an albus?"

§ "Nec aspectu quidem honestus," says Tertullian in one place; and in another, "si inglorius, si ignobilis, si inhonorabilis — meus erit Christus."

passion for the images and portraits of the saints was daily gaining ground amongst the Christians;* and from year to year the priesthood were becoming more convinced of their importance to the interests of the Church. In this emergency, it was highly essential to decide, as quickly as possible, the disputes of the fathers; and for this desirable end no means were so satisfactory and conclusive as the production of some paintings or images of Jesus, which tradition might ascribe to his contemporaries, or imposture exhibit as the direct workmanship of Heaven. Such was the origin of the achiropoetic images,† and the fictions regarding the authentic statues and figures of the Saviour which continue to the present day to be venerated by the members of the Greek and Latin communions. Of the former, the most remarkable was the impression of the features of Jesus on linen, fabled to have been presented by him to Abgarus, King of Edessa, which was discovered concealed in a wall, and in the fifth century produced for the edification of the Church.‡ Next

* See vol. i. of this History, p. 62.

† *Αχειροποίητος*,—made without hands.

‡ See Gibbon, c. xlix. A full historical account of this imposture may be found in Reiskius, *Exercitationes de Imagin. Christi*, Ex. i. c. i. p. 10. in the *Orthodoxographia* of Basle, vol. i. p. 90. in Chiffletius *de Linteis Sepulcratibus Christi Salvatoris*, c. xxxiii. p. 200. and in Molanus *de Historia S.S. Imagin. et Picturar.* l. i. c. 6. p. 64. l. iv. c. 2. p. 473. Ni-

to this was the Sudarium, or Veronica, duplicates of which have been singularly multiplied in the latter ages of the Church. The legend attached to it imports, that when Jesus was bearing his cross, a pious woman of Jerusalem handed him this sacred cloth to wipe his burning brow, and that, on returning it, it was found impressed with the holy image of the sufferer.* Besides these, was the Sindone, or sepulchral garments of Jesus, in which he was wrapped by Joseph of Arimathea before his committal to

cephorus Callistus, however, in his anxiety to assert the divine origin of this effigy, has destroyed altogether the authenticity of the Panean statue and the works attributed to St. Luke and Nicodemus, (see p. 261, &c.) since he states that a painter sent by Abgarus, or, as he calls him, Augarus or Avgarus, to Christ, was unable to delineate his features owing to the splendour which beamed around them, and that Christ in consequence resorted to the simple expedient recorded in the legend. (See Niceph. Callist. Xanthop. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. ii. c. vii. p. 99.)

* A different version of this legend is given by Gibbon, in his History of the Ikonoclasts; that which I have related I have extracted from Reiskius (Ex. i. c. l. p. 60.) and it agrees with the accounts of Molanus and Chiffletius, (de Hist. S. S. Imag. l. iv. c. 2. p. 474. De Lint. Sep. Christ. c. xxxiv. p. 204.) The reader will perhaps remember the Leonine verses addressed to this relic, and preserved in Hospinianus *de Templis*, l. ii.

“ Salve sancte facies nostri redemptoris
In qua nitet species divini splendoris
Impressa panniculo nivei coloris
Dataque Veronicæ signum ob amoris,” &c.

the tomb, and which, after his resurrection, still retained the impress of his form and features.*

Of the authentic, but mortal effigies of Jesus, a similar profusion was discovered by these indefatigable explorers. A statue which existed at Paneas, in Palestine, representing a female kneeling at the feet of a dignified personage, and which bore the inscription "To the Saviour and Benefactor,"† was asserted to represent Jesus and the woman whom his touch had cured of a hemorrhage.‡ A painting still preserved at St. Peter's, of Christ and the Virgin, was pronounced an original St. Luke; and a wooden carving of the Saviour, discovered at Beirout, and transported to Italy, was ascribed by the same cognoscente to the chisel of Nicodemus.§

* The Dissertation of Chiffletius, to which I have above alluded, *De Linteis Sepulchralibus Christi*, Antver. 1624, is devoted exclusively to the consideration of this glorious relic. Reiskius, with his usual acumen, has treated of it in his third *Essay de Imag. Christ.*

† Τῷ Σωτῆρι, τῷ εὐεργετῇ.

‡ This statue has been more naturally conjectured to represent the Emperor Vespasian and a city, a province, or perhaps the Queen Berenice. Gibbon states it to have been in existence only till the third century; but Molanus asserts that it was overthrown by Julian, who placed his own statue on the pedestal. (Gib. c. xlix. n. p. 117. Molanus *de Hist. S. S. Imag.* l. i. c. vii. p. 63.) The original story is in Eusebius.

§ The tradition runs that Nicodemus presented this speci-

Still, however, the question was as far removed as before from an adjustment; since, though each of these miraculous monuments might be individually convincing and satisfactory, their glaring dissimilarity, when considered collectively, involved the investigation in all its original difficulty. Art, in the mean time, had been chiefly transferred from Rome to the Bosphorus; and here its cultivators were almost exclusively the followers of St. Basil, who espoused, as I have already observed, the opinions of Tertullian and the deformity faction. The portraits of the Redeemer executed during this period by the Greeks, were, consequently, of the most repulsive description, though their ugliness is attributable more perhaps to the feeble powers of the artist, than to his pious regard for the opinions of St. Basil. In some

men of his talents to Gamaliel, the master of St. Paul, from whom it was transferred to James, and finally to Simon and Zachaius. At length, but when I do not recollect, it found its way to Berytus, or Beirout, in Syria, where it was left suspended over a bed in a house which its owner had abandoned. Its discoverers, a party of jovial Jews, proceeded in their cups to insult and break the venerable relic, when they were astonished on beholding blood and water issue from the wounds they inflicted. Its fame spreading abroad from this marvellous incident, it was transported to Italy, and placed among the veritable treasures of the holy church.—Reiskius, *Ex. vi. sec. i. p. 136. Molanus, l. i. c. vi. p. 62.*

few instances they retain a trace of majesty and divine expression, but they presented, in general, an aspect haggard and revolting, and a form emaciated, meagre, and decrepid.*

Allegory, however, in spite of the efforts of the priesthood to establish the authority of these veritable relics, still maintained its popularity; and in these the advocates of the divine beauty had ample scope for the expression of their ideas of the incarnate Godhead. If in the gloomy annals of declining art there be one epoch which seemed to promise a return of early genius to the Greeks, it was during the fourth and fifth centuries, when these sacred symbols were so eagerly sought after by the followers of the Church; and often, in referring to the specimens which have reached us of these allegorical paintings, we fancy we can almost trace, in their designs, an unextinguished spark of ancient fire. It is, however, rather in the conception, than the execution of their works, that the conviction strikes us, and these occasionally evince some exquisite touches of the poetry of art. The divinity of Jesus is sometimes expressed by a youth of

* This habit of representing Christ as debilitated by age, originated most probably with Irenæus, who wishes to make it appear that he died at the age of fifty, instead of in the flower of youth, as more generally received.

godlike mien and heavenly grace, whose foot rests upon the mane of a conquered lion; his sacrifice is typified by a lamb expiring at the foot of a cross, which it sprinkles with its blood; and his resurrection by a radiant phoenix, which, triumphing over death, mounts into the air, or rests upon the summit of a palm-tree, the emblem of its victory.

Another incident, which contributed still more to the perpetuation of this symbolical style of design, was the difficulty of reconciling the prejudices of the orientals to the ignominious circumstances attendant on the death of our Saviour. The scourge and crown of thorns, were ideas totally incompatible with their conceptions of the majesty of heaven; and the cross, which sacred associations have taught us to revere as the emblem of all that is venerated and holy, was regarded by them with the same feelings of detestation and disgust which attach in modern times to a gallows or a gibbet. It required, therefore, extreme caution to prevent a symbol so offensive from giving scandal to the weak; and it was rarely, if ever, employed in the services of the altar before the seventh century in Greece, and the beginning of the eighth in Italy.* To supply its place, allegories without

* Emeric-David.

end were invented ; and as these, in the decline of painting, had verged into puerilities and obscurity,* the influence of the hierarchy was at length obliged to interfere in their suppression. In A. D. 692, at the Quinesextile, or Council in Trullo, it was ordered, that thenceforth fiction should disappear before realities, and that the real figure of the Saviour should be depicted upon the tree.† It was with reluctance that the Greeks acceded to this proposed reformation ; and it was long ere they could bring themselves to depict the Saviour expiring in all the humiliating throes of mortal agony. By degrees, however, they obeyed to a letter the authoritative injunction of the Church ; but their anxiety to produce an effect, by the delineation of the sufferings of the Redeemer, tended only to degrade the images of Jesus. Their talents were unequal to the expression of agony and passion, united to majesty and grace ; and their only resource was, by increasing the deformity of the subject to add to its disagreeable effect on the nerves of its specta-

* The four Evangelists were represented as four rivers, whose waters were to overflow the earth ; the Gentiles as stags, who bounded down a mountain's side towards a living fountain ; and the faithful, as trees, plants, sheep, and birds. —Emeric-David, p. 115.

† Can. 82. Act. Concil. Paris, 1714, v. 3. col. 1691, 1692.

tors. Hitherto, likewise, the use of undraped figures in their allegories had perpetuated in some degree the knowledge of anatomy and figure; the severity of historical design now demanded the introduction of costume, and anatomical correctness was for ever lost to the Greeks. In the examples which remain of naked figures on their crucifixes, the drawing is invariably wretched; and the artists seem to have endeavoured to illustrate the figurative allusion of the Psalmist, "All my bones are out of joint, and my heart like wax is melted in the midst of my bowels."*

Such was the perverted taste universally prevalent throughout Greece in the eleventh century, and which continued unaltered down to the restoration of art in Italy and the West. By the Latins, these depraved and superstitious ideas had never been cordially nor extensively imbibed; and the Roman painters had almost from the earliest period coincided with the majority of the fathers, in asserting the beauty and grace of the Saviour's form. Nearly a century elapsed ere they acceded to the decree of the Quinesextile council; and when they did, their first efforts, instead of depicting the crown of thorns, the lance, and the sponge, represented

* Psalm xxii. v. 14.

Jesus as a youth of heavenly mien, crowned with a diadem, and inaccessible to human sufferings or pain.* The letter of Lentulus, whose promulgation dates between the ninth and fourteenth centuries, serves to show that the ideas of Hadrian I. and St. Bernard, relative to the beauty of Jesus, had then become prevalent and popular in the West; and the description of Nicephorus Xanthopoulos, which agrees with it, seems to indicate that the same opinion was not altogether without supporters at Constantinople. The features, figure, and expression attributed by both to the Saviour, are precisely those which, on the restoration of painting, served as models to the works of Guido of Sienna, Cimabue, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Michel Angelo. So that to the Italian followers of Gregory, Ambrose, and Augustine, we are indebted for the portraits of Jesus at present in use; nor is it necessary to add, that their forms are imaginary, and that their authenticity is supported neither by sacred authority nor attested models.†

* Emeric-David, p. 66. A proverb still in use in the south of France, which compares a lean or meagre person to *un crucifix des Grecs*, serves to point out the remarkable distinction between these paintings in the Italian and Constantinopolitan churches.

† It was with extreme awe and hesitation that the Greeks

To return.—During the fourth and fifth centuries, the same hostility to the monuments of ancient art prevailed throughout Greece which I have mentioned as having disgraced

seem to have ventured on a delineation of the Almighty; down to the eleventh century, they continued to represent His presence by the symbol of a hand extended from a cloud, an idea borrowed, most probably, from the figurative words of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. (Jer. c. i. v. 9.; c. xxvii. v. 5. Ezek. c. ii. v. 9.) It was only when an example had been set to them by the artists of the West, that they presumed to paint Him in a human form. Some miniatures of the ninth century executed in France, as decorations for a Bible, still preserved at Paris, afford the first specimens of designs of this kind with which we are acquainted, and depict the Creator under the figure of a beardless youth, a golden cloud encompassing his head, clad in an azure robe, and bearing a sceptre in his hand. The Greeks, improving upon this conception, adopted for their model the sublime vision of Daniel: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down and the ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him." (Dan. c. vii. v. 9, 10.) The Greeks now painted him as an old man of venerable aspect, full of majesty and goodness, seated amidst rolling clouds, dividing chaos by his look, and calling forth light from the midst of darkness. These splendid imaginings, though rudely expressed, seemed to have been never either abandoned or surpassed; and in the lofty designs of Michel Angelo and Raphael, the spectator will recognize the first bold conceptions of the Greeks.

the reigns of Constantine and his successors. But whilst the temples of paganism were destroyed by the emperors, the Christian churches were adorned by a succession of images, whose worship quickly became not less vain and idolatrous. Not only their walls, but their floors and ceilings were profusely incrustated with paintings and mosaics representing subjects as well sacred as profane; and the palaces and private residences of the nobles evinced the same magnificence and brilliancy. Even the decorations and embroidery of their dress were so sumptuous as to require the talents of a designer; but in all these the imagination of the artist was drawing merely on his memory, and Nature, as an immediate model, was overlooked and forgotten. The luxury and extravagance of Justinian,* in the succeeding age, served to perpetuate this decay; and so totally had painting then become corrupted, that even its terms were perverted and lost, and the title of a *painter*

* The expressions of Procopius afford a faithful picture of the extravagant taste of Justinian for splendour and display, as evinced in the Church of St. Sophia.

Χρυσῷ γὰρ ἀκισθηλῶ κατηλθλεῖται ἡ ὀροφή (of St. Sophia) πᾶσα, κερανύσα τὴν κόμπον τῶ κάλλει, νικᾷ μέντοι ἢ ἐκ τῶν λίθων αὐγὴ ἀντιστρέφουσα τῷ χρυσῷ.—De *Ædificiis*, liv. i.

The columns supporting the cupolas were, according to

was rendered synonymous with that of a *gilder*.* Still, its history during the gloomy ages which succeeded, is replete with melancholy interest, since it was now the last remnant of the arts which Greece could be said to possess; the purity of sculpture had virtually expired with Constantine; and architecture, in all its ancient characteristics, disappeared under Justinian. Painting alone, as demanding a minor exertion of genius to produce a brilliant effect, as more generally applicable to the purposes of decoration, and requiring less expense in its materials, became, in later times, the grand vehicle of design; and whilst every other ornamental

Paulus Silentarius, decorated with gilded capitals, and festooned with purple flowers.

Καὶ τὰς μὲν χρυσεῖσιν εὐαφρίζουσι καρηνοῖς

Στικτοὶ πορφυρέοισιν ἀποστίλβοντες αἰώτοις

Κλόνας.

Descriptio, &c. p. i. l. 243, &c.

The mosaics are described by him in the second part of the poem with equal delight (v. 138. 230.); and the paintings and images of Christ, the Apostles, and Prophets, occupy a large proportion of the work. (vv. 276—295. 369—380, &c.)

* “ Dans les siècles précédens, au lieu de dire *peindre* une gallerie ou une église, on disait la *faire jouer*, la *brillanter*; dans celui-ci, le mosaïciste parce qu’il dorait quelquefois ses cristaux, étoit appelé un *doreur*, et le terme même de *dorer* commençait à être confondu avec celui de *peindre*.”—Emeric-
David, p. 107.

science has perished amongst them, the Greeks, even to the present day, retain a faint remembrance of the paintings of their fathers.

Amongst the causes which may be regarded as tending to perpetuate its knowledge and practice in the Eastern empire, during the middle ages, one peculiarly striking was the schism of the Ikonoclasts in the eighth century, which, by destroying the uses of sculpture in the churches, served to confine their decoration exclusively to mosaicists and painters. The enactments against statues tended not only to enhance infinitely the value of cabinet pictures, but even the ordinary portraits of the saints rose into unprecedented importance in consequence of this concentration of devotion. But any beneficial results that might have accrued in a purer period of the art from this popular excitement, were thoroughly neutralized by the universal corruption of national taste which had already taken place. The love of gain, now the only stimulant to the genius of the artist, naturally taught him to multiply, as rapidly as possible, his copies of the models he possessed; and as he had neither time nor inclination to study nature in his designs, not only the lofty capabilities, but even the first elements of the science were abandoned and forgotten.

Another cause, originating about the same time, served likewise, both in the East and West, to confirm the prevalent corruption: this was the introduction of mail and plate-armour, which took place about the middle of the ninth century. The Greeks and Romans, accustomed to contend chiefly on foot, and with such defensive arms alone as protected the body and left the limbs at liberty,* afforded the purest models of manly strength and graceful action. Charlemagne, in increasing the use of cavalry, first adopted the practice of encasing the person of the rider in iron; and though the custom was slow in gaining ground, it eventually prevailed throughout almost every country of Europe. The ordinary soldiers alone contended on foot; whilst the paladin, clad in unwieldy harness, bestrode a charger sheathed, like himself, in plates of steel. In the delineations of these shapeless warriors, the artist required no anatomical skill; and grace or attitude were effectually excluded from the persons of his inanimate portraits.†

At no period of the lower empire was painting in more general use than at the close of the ninth and commencement of the following

* Meyrick on Ancient Armour, v. i. Introd. pp. xxi. xxiii. xliii. xlv.

† Emeric-*David*, Discours, &c. p. 144.

century, during the reigns of Leo the Philosopher, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus.* Their courts were crowded with artists, who in their several departments possessed a high superiority over the semi-barbarous professors of the West, and were subsequently instrumental in reviving the practice of the arts in Italy. A new field was likewise opened for their exertions in the wilds of Russia, the inhabitants of which, late in the tenth century, embraced the religion of the Greek Church,† and invited to their rising cities the painters of Constantinople. In the few works of this period which have reached us, we can discover the effects of all those causes, to which I have before alluded as calculated to subvert the purity of style. But though their execution is wretched, and their drawing void of all grace or proportion, they still possess an air of unaccountable elegance shining through every defect, which can only be attributed to the memory of their ancient models which still lingered in the minds of the unhappy Greeks.‡

* Agincourt, vol. i. Tab. Hist. p. 63.

† The Princess Olga, or Helena, was baptized at Constantinople A.D. 945; but the Greek religion cannot be said to have been firmly established in Russia till after the conversion of her grandson Vladimir, A.D. 980.

‡ "Chez les Grecs le crayon incertain ne rendoit avec exactitude ni les formes des muscles, ni les saillies des articu-

In the commencement of the eleventh century, we find the first dawnings of a restoration

lations; mais à cette incorrection, effet inévitable du défaut de savoir, le dessin associoit je ne sais quelle grandeur, qu'il faut attribuer au souvenir et à l'habitude; l'artiste le plus ignorant montrait une sorte de grâce et même de majesté; les draperies offroient un assez beau développement, les têtes du caractère et de l'esprit; les profiles des membres formoient communément de grandes lignes courbes, où l'on retrouvoit une application aveugle des règles antiques."—*Emeric-David, Discours, p. 165.*

One of the most interesting remains of Greek art in the tenth century is the celebrated Menologue of Basil II. deposited in the Vatican by Pius V. in 1015. It contains, for each day in the year, a story of some saint or champion of the Greek Church, and is ornamented with four hundred and thirty miniatures on gold grounds, executed by various artists, some of whom have attached their names to their productions. In the variety and number of the figures and events, this extraordinary collection of drawings is inconceivably rich, and may well be considered as a satisfactory specimen of the Greek school in this remote age. The colouring is, of course, brilliant in the extreme, the drawing defective; and the difference of sex only discoverable by the costume. Nevertheless, as Agincourt observes, the dignity conspicuous in the heads of the old men, and the modesty which distinguishes the attitudes of the women, attest that this is still a production, though a degenerate one, of the school of Greece. (*Hist. de l'Art, v. ii. P. D. p. 55.*) As models of costume, arms, customs, and architecture in the middle ages, the Menologue of Basil is invaluable. Its miniatures will be found figured in plates xxxi. xxxii. xxxiii. of the *Decline of Painting*, by Agincourt, and are described at pp. 55, 56. of his second, and pp. 38, 39, 40. of the third volume.

of painting in Italy and Europe, the impetus to which was communicated by the mosaics executed by the Greeks who had been invited to Pisa and Venice. These continued for nearly two centuries to be the only models of the Tuscan and Lombard school, till the improvement of sculpture by Nicolo Pisano and Arnolfo Florentino led to the final restoration of taste in every other department of design, and taught the Romans to apply the treasures of ancient art to the cultivation of their own.* But in Greece herself the hour of redemption never arrived; nor do her annals, down to the period of her final overthrow, record any important event in the history of design. From an incidental remark in one of the historians of the twelfth century, we merely learn that it was still employed for domestic decoration by the Byzantine nobles, and that its subjects were chosen principally from the actions of the former Greeks, or the battles and chases of the Lower Emperors;† but of these productions

* Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, l. iii. s. ix. Lanzi, *Storia Pittorica d'Italia*, v. i. p. 3.; v. iii. p. 7.; v. v. p. 7. 185. Felibien, *Entretiens sur les Vies des Peintres*, v. i. l. ii. p. 95. Agincourt, v. ii. *Peint. Decad.* p. 38.

† Cinnamus, in relating the circumstances which attached a suspicion of treason to Alexius the Protostrator, against Manuel, the warrior of the Comneni, mentions his having decorated his palace with paintings of the victories gained

time has spared us no satisfactory specimens. Throughout the convulsions of the Crusades, the brief and inglorious dynasty of the Latins, and the powerless reigns of the restored Palæologi, the practice of painting was never thoroughly abandoned; but the soul of art had fled, fancy and invention were extinct; the productions of the Grecian artists were but puerile copies of the works of their predecessors, which they continued to reiterate with a powerless hand, till, in the maturity of political and intellectual decay, the empire and its arts sunk into the same abyss.*

by the Sultan of Iconium, (with whom he was suspected to be in correspondence,) instead of the pictures of the wars of the ancient Greeks, or the battles and hunts of the moderns, with which the nobles were wont to adorn their dwellings.

“Χρόνος δὲ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔκτανεν, ἐπειδὴ ποτε γραφαῖς ἐπαγλαῖσαι τῶν προαστίων αὐτῶν δωματίων ἠβουλήθη τινα, οὔτε τινὰς Ἑλληνίους παλαιότερας ἐνέθετο πράξεις αὐτοῖς, οὔτε μὲν τὰ Βασιλέως ὅποια καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐν ἀρχαῖς εἶθισται, διεξῆλθεν ἔργα ὅσα ἐν τε πολέμοις καὶ θηροκτονίαις αὐτὸς ἐργαστο. τούτων ἀφέμενος τὰς τοῦ Σουλτανοῦ ἀνεστηλοῦ στρατηγίας ἐπὶ δωματίων αὐτὸς δημοσιύων κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν.—Cinnami Histor. l. vi. c. 6. p. 155, 156.

* Agincourt supposes that at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries there were some traces of a revival of painting in Greece, and that her artists were quickly following the example of those of Italy; but the specimens which he has adduced in support of this idea are

The religious prejudices of the Turks, which induce them to consider all representations of the human form as impious, operate as an effectual barrier to the practice of the arts in their dominions.* Their houses are ornamented with a few landscapes and paintings of inanimate nature, and their chambers are decorated with arabesques and gilded tracery; but as these childish productions require neither attentive study nor scientific execution, design may be said to be unknown amongst them. The Greeks, in their churches, still use some miserable portraits of Christ, the Panagia, and the Saints, generally drawn upon a gilded ground, such as exists in the works of Giotto, Cimabue, and the fathers of the Italian schools. Of these, a large proportion is said to be imported from Russia, where their primitive workmanship attests the little progress made by these ecclesiastical artists since the days of Helena and Vladimir. Nay, so debasing are the trammels of bigotry, that even ugliness is considered an enhancement of these sacred emblems, which seem to excite the stronger feelings of devotion

almost too miserable to afford any grounds for the theory. They are principally taken from a MS. of a Greek Bible of the fourteenth century, preserved in the Vatican, and will be found in plate lxii. of his *Decline of Painting*.

* Eton, p. 211. Guys, v. i. l. 32. p. 509.

the farther they recede from the likeness of humanity.* In the islands and the remoter districts, too, a feeling of superstition attaches fatal consequences to the drawing of portraits, and the death of the individual represented is considered as a speedy consequence of the act. But though the practice of the arts is thus virtually extinct amongst the Greeks,† it is a remarkable fact, that they have still preserved a recollection of the modes of working pursued by their ancestors; and the knowledge both of frescoes and encaustic is still said to exist in the Archipelago, and on the shores of Greece.‡

* Waddington's *Present Condition and Prospects of the Greek Church*, c. v. p. 59. I remember, likewise, to have met with an anecdote of a Greek prelate, who refused to take a painting executed by Titian (I think,) because the chiaroscuro was so perfect as to give it a scandalous resemblance to a sculptured figure.

† *Guys*, v. i. l. 31. p. 482. l. 32. p. 509. "Les beaux arts ont été fort en règne dans les Isles de Grèce. Aujourd'hui c'est la barbarie et la grossièreté même. . . . Pour la peinture, c'est pitié que de voir leur méchant goût; le plus mauvais barbouillage est regardé avec admiration, parcequ'il n'y a personne qui puisse faire mieux. Les peintres Candiots sont renommés, quoique leurs tableaux soient pitoiables."—*Hist. de l'Archipel*, l. iv. p. 380. Paris, 1698.

‡ "The Greeks have a very curious manner of painting in fresco, which has many advantages. I also saw the ancient method of painting with wax, and fixing the colours by heat,

practised by a Greek, and at a place I least expected it, at the Dardanelles, for at Constantinople it is unknown. Whether this be exactly the encaustic painting of the ancients it is hazardous to affirm, though I myself have not the least doubt respecting it. Thus much is certain, that it has, with regard to facility, very considerable advantages over the oil painting now in use; it has all its freedom, and the vivacity of its colours, added to solidity and the durability which the experience of twenty centuries has proved wax-painting to be possessed of."—*Eton*, p. 222.

The same circumstance had been previously remarked by Castellan, *Lettres sur la Morée*, pp. 134. 136.

CHAPTER XV.

Progress of the Greeks, from the Peace of Passarowitz,
A. D. 1718, to the termination of the Russian Expedition
to the Morea, A. D. 1770.

I HAVE in the preceding pages endeavoured to relate the decline of Greece, from her first subjection to a foreign power to her final assignment to the Ottomans; I have detailed, as far as it was practicable, the particulars of her oppression, and pointed out those causes, which, even in the depths of her slavery, tended to preserve her people distinct from their conquerors,—her language, her religion, her church, her merchants, her independent warriors, and her diplomatic aristocracy. It now remains to commence a brighter era in her annals, to mark the first rays of intellectual light which penetrated the darkness of her decay, and to trace, in their gradual dissemination, the full development of her awakened energies. Nor can

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the range of history present us with a spectacle more interesting or sublime than this spontaneous regeneration of Greece. It is an event unconnected with the political convulsions of the world, and uninfluenced by the revolutions of surrounding states; it has been produced by no external interference, and advanced by no foreign aid; its sole agents have been the Greeks, and its only origin the resistless expansion of mind, bursting beyond all baser obstacles, and rending every bond that would enslave the intellect, or fetter the liberties of mankind.

Previously to the commencement of the eighteenth century, education, as I have already remarked,* had made but little progress amongst the Greeks. The efforts of Cyril Lucar, who has been styled the "Protestant Patriarch" of Constantinople,† about A.D. 1620, to establish a printing-press and schools at the capital, were thoroughly thwarted by the exertions of the Latin missionaries, who had been

* Vol. II. of this History, c. xiii. p. 183.

† Douglas's *Modern Greeks*, p. 75. An interesting account of this distinguished Prelate has just been published in the Rev. G. Waddington's "*Present Condition and Prospects of the Greek Church*," (P. ii. p. 156,) a work, of which I regret that it was not in my power to avail myself at an earlier period in the progress of these volumes.

settled in the Archipelago since the time of Charles IX. They succeeded in effecting his ruin with the Divan; his institutions and establishments were dispersed and destroyed, and the Jesuits remained the sole monopolists of education in Greece. They founded schools at Salonica, Athens, Negropont, Patras, Napoli di Romania, Milo, Paros, Naxos, Santorin, Scio, Smyrna, and numerous towns on the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria.* But as their exertions were directed to the double object of proselytism and instruction, they were more generally productive of schism and disunion, than of advantage and enlightenment to the unfortunate Greeks; the seeds of knowledge were choked as they sprang up by the theological tares which had been insidiously sown amongst them, and the institutions of the monks, thus overthrown by their own policy, sank at length into contempt and neglect.

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In the mean time, the extensive commerce which the Greeks had enjoyed previous to the Turkish conquest, and which, though injured, had not been destroyed by that event, tended from year to year to bring them into more intimate contact with the French, the Italians, and other inhabitants of Europe; and thus opened

* Rabbe, p. 65. Villemain, *Essai Historique sur l'état des Grecs*, &c. p. 202.

A.D. 1718. an important channel for the influx of knowledge.* The insecurity of property likewise in Turkey, gradually induced the wealthy portion of the Christian inhabitants to abandon their country, and seek new asylums abroad. The ports of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, and the cities of Russia, Poland, Germany, and England, thus became the abodes of the more intelligent and enterprising of the Greeks; and about the beginning of the present century it was estimated that not less than fifty thousand of the most opulent families were thus settled at a distance from their country.† The taste for information acquired by these adventurers was rapidly communicated to their countrymen at home, who hastened to make their children participators of the same advantages; and during the seventeenth and eighteenth, as well as the present century, the continental universities were assiduously frequented by the youth of Constan-

* Leake, *Outline*, &c. p. 25; Waddington's *Visit to Greece*, p. iii. Introduction; Rabbe, p. 66; Douglas, p. 71.

† Leake's *Researches*, pp. 67. 171. Meletius, in his *Geography*, written about the beginning of the last century, estimates the number of absentees in Austria alone at 80,000 families, exclusive of those who had settled in Moldavia, Wallachia, Russia, Italy, Poland, and the rest of Europe: but this computation is evidently exaggerated.

tinople, Smyrna, and the islands.* Numbers of them returning thence, acquired high literary distinction throughout Greece;† and others,

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* Rabbe, p. 65. Rizo, Cours de Litter. Gr. Mod. p. 36.

† In 1720, Procopius, a monk of Moskhopoli in Upper Albania, published a list of the distinguished Greeks who had appeared from the close of the sixteenth century to his own times. It is printed in Greek and Latin, in the 11th volume of Fabricius' *Biblioth. Græca*, ed. Hamburg, 1702-54, under the title of "*Demetrii Procopii Macedonis Mochopolit. succincta Eruditorum Græcorum superioris ac presentis sæculi Recensio; conscripta mense Junii A.C. MDCCXX.*" Ducange, in the second volume of his *Glossarium med. et infim. Græcitat*, has likewise inserted a copious list of the authors, manuscript and printed, from whom he compiled his work. In both these lists, the number of writers on general literature bears no proportion whatever to those on ecclesiastical history and theology; and that of Procopius contains the names of numerous individuals who were remarkable only for their superior information, but have left no written memorial of their talents. It commences with Jeremias, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to whom some of the letters of Crusius were addressed about the year 1580, and mentions, amongst other celebrated names, those of Cyril Lucar, to whom I have already referred (No. viii. p. 772), Callinicus, another distinguished prelate of Constantinople (Procop. xi. p. 773; Villemain, *Essai*, p. 179; Rizo, Cours, &c. 23 p.), Coryadaleus of Athens, and Chrysanthos Notara, Patriarch of Jerusalem, the latter the author of some elementary works, and both distinguished as orators and divines (Procop. xv. p. 777. lxviii. p. 792; Rabbe, p. 65; Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 23, 138, 140). [Dositheus, another Patriarch of Jerusalem, was a correspondent of Alex-

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preferring a residence in Europe,* united with their self-exiled companions in printing works of instruction, and founding schools for their countrymen at home. So rapid was the suc-

ander Maurocordato, to whom the latter addressed several patriotic letters, since published, containing his sentiments on the means of regenerating Greece (Rizo, Cours, p. 39). Caryophyllus, the Scœnophylax, according to M. Villemain (p. 178), and the Logothete, according to Procopius, of the church of Constantinople, is another personage mentioned with high commendations along with Metrophanes, the Archbishop of Arta, and Meletius, or Michael, a native of Joanina, who was promoted to the same see in A.D. 1692, and subsequently translated in 1703 to Athens; he died at Constantinople in 1714. He was author of an Ecclesiastical History, a System of Astronomy, and a Geography, which, though erroneous, is still the best possessed by his countrymen. An interesting account of it, with specimens, will be found in Col. Leake's Researches, p. 172 (Procop. xlii.; Rabbe, 65; Rizo, Cours, &c. 30, 120, 138, 142). Of Procopius's list of about eighty names, a few only have applied themselves to general literature; and down to this period, Greece appears to have produced no one author of extraordinary merit, the fame of those mentioned by the monk of Moskhopoli resting rather on a comparison with their uneducated contemporaries than on their own positive deserts.

* Amongst the Greeks of this period, who had settled abroad, may be mentioned Philaras of Athens, with whom Milton held a correspondence. See his *Epistolæ Familiares*, Nos. 12, 15. He addresses him "*Clarissimo viro Leonardo Philaræ Atheniensi; Ducis Parmensis ad Regem Galliæ legato;*" and refers to his Italian education, "*Athenis Atticis natus et literarum studiis apud Italos peractis.*" It is in one

cess, and so unremitting the exertions of these disinterested patriots, that before the end of the seventeenth century, seminaries were founded not only at Constantinople, but at Mount Athos, Joannina, Smyrna, Patmos, Corfu, Zagora, Larissa, Moskhopoli, Bucharest, and in other spots of minor importance, which were numerous and zealously attended. Up to this period, education had been confined almost exclusively to the initiation of candidates for the priesthood in the study of divinity, ecclesiastical history, and the voluminous liturgy of the Oriental church.* It now assumed a different cha-

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of these epistles, that Milton has expressed his enthusiasm for the regeneration and enlightenment of Greece. "Quid enim vel fortissimi olim viri, vel eloquentissimi gloriosius aut se dignius esse duxerunt, quàm vel suadendo vel fortiter faciendo *ἐλευθεροῦς καὶ αὐτονομους ποιῆσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας*; Verum et aliud quiddam præterea tentandum est, meâ quidem sententiâ longe maximum, ut quis antiquam in animis Græcorum virtutem, industriam, laborum tolerantiam, antiqua illa studia dicendo suscitare atque accendere possit." Milton's Works, v. ii. p. 573. fol. Lond. 1758.

* The ordinary liturgy of the Greek church is that of St. Chrysostom, somewhat altered and modified in the course of time. On Sundays in Lent, and other high festivals, it is superseded by that of St. Basil, written about A. D. 370, which is exceedingly prolix. "But by the word liturgy," says Mr. Waddington, "the Greeks understand only the communion service, and as to the rest it varies every day in the year, and every part of the day; so that the whole body

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racter ; the ancient language was studied not with a reference to its confined use in the service of the church, but for the investigation of its literary treasures ; and to it were added the theology of John of Damascus, the rhetoric of Aphthonius, the elements of Euclid, and the logic and physics of Blemmides.* The teachers in their institutions being all of the orthodox communion, the imputation of sinister motives was avoided, a genuine taste for information was universally excited, and the consequent spread of intelligence throughout Greece marks the commencement of a new era in her history.

Nor was it without extreme difficulty that these generous designs were carried into execution, since the Turks, vigorously opposed to every thing which bore the tinge of an innovation, restricted the establishment of schools, not only for the children of the Greeks, but even for those of their own religion.† It required in consequence a weighty sum to pur-

of the service is sufficient *to fill twenty folio volumes*, besides one similar volume containing directions for the use of the rest." Condition and Prospects of the Greek Church, p. 64.

* Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 23.

† "Ce privilège n'était accordé qu'à demi aux Turcs eux-mêmes." Raffenet, Histoire des évènements de la Grèce, &c. v. i. p. 6.

chase permission for their erection by the rayahs :* the cells of the monasteries, and the vestibules of the churches, were at first appropriated to the purpose, and sometimes by a bribe to the Turkish authorities, a school was permitted to be built under the title of a house of correction ;† nor was it till the reign of Selim III. towards the close of the last century, that their existence was acknowledged and protected by the Porte.‡ Even after surmounting all these obstacles, the triumph achieved amounted to little more than exciting a desire for knowledge ; it still fell far short of supplying sufficient food for its gratification. Under the vigilant jealousy of the Ottomans, it was impossible for education to be disseminated on a comprehensive scale, or even in particular instances to be pursued to a satisfactory extent. The munificence which supported their establishments was partial in its distribution, and precarious in its continuance ; and not unfrequently its disposal was injudicious, owing to the distance from whence the funds were transmitted, and the imperfect information of the donors as to the real wants of their countrymen.

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* Rabbe, p. 118.

† Rizo, Cours, &c. pp. 50, 51, 52.

‡ Ib. p. 57. Raffenet, p. 7.

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The elevation of the Phanariots to official power, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the career of ambition thus opened to the Greeks, operated most beneficially on the minds and habits of the nation in general. A powerful stimulant was applied to literary emulation; and the early generosity of the first Phanariot nobles towards the intellectual wants of their people, serves in no slight degree to lighten the stigma which the venality and corruption of their later representatives have attached to the body in general. Alexander Maurocordato, who succeeded to the official honours of Panayotaki,* the first Drogueman of the Porte, has merited the lasting gratitude of his country by his devotion to her interests, and patriotic exertions for her advancement and regeneration. Having concluded his medical studies at the universities of Italy, he returned to his native Scio, and thence removed, for the practice of his profession, to Constantinople. Here a Greek, named Monolachi, had some time before founded a school,† in which the young physician delivered a course of lectures on the circulation of the blood, which had been demonstrated by Harvey about forty years be-

* See vol. ii. of this History, c. xii. p. 6.

† Villemain, p. 178.

fore.* His superior talents attracted the attention of the Divan, and, on the death of Panayotaki, he was nominated to succeed him. Almost the first exercise of his influence was directed to the procuring permission for the erection of schools throughout Turkey, and principally in Greece, where his attention was chiefly bestowed on improving the already existing seminary of Joannina. And during the course of a long life, his wealth and his energies seemed devoted exclusively to the intellectual wants of his countrymen.†

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* Harvey published his first Treatise A. D. 1628.

† Procopius, in the list already referred to, does ample justice to the merits of Maurocordato, (xiv. p. 774); and Tournefort, who visited the Levant during his life, bears an honourable tribute to his character. *Voyage, &c.* v. ii. p. 12. He died A. D. 1709.

Besides his Treatise on the Circulation of the Blood, which was published in Greek, in Latin, and in Turkish, he was the author of a Grammar, a Treatise on Logic, one on Rhetoric, and a third on Metaphysics. He wrote likewise some valuable Commentaries on some of the Greek Classics, and a History of the Jews, from the age of Abraham to the end of the seventeenth century; and a collection of his Correspondence has, I before observed, been lately printed at Constantinople, (Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 29. 142.) The style of his works, says Rizo, is so elegant and correct, that they will bear a comparison with the classical authors of the second order. He died in A. D. 1709, leaving behind him, according to Procopius, immense wealth, and a reputation, even to old age, unsullied by a blot, (p. 775.)

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From the institutions which he supported or established, issued a crowd of enlightened scholars, who, after completing their studies in Europe, returned to devote their exertions to the furtherance of the cause which had conferred on them their own distinction. Such were Miniati, Dorotheus of Mitylene, and Cacavellas, whose sacred orations are still the admiration of the Greeks,* Athanasaky Ypsilanti, who wrote the History of the Turks, from their first appearance in the Eastern empire to the middle of the eighteenth century,† and Tyanites, a poet of Constantinople, and author of the Bosphoromachia, or Contention in beauty between the Asiatic and European shores of the Bosphorus. A long list of other names, less familiar to an European ear, are still recorded by the Greeks; but by far the most eminent pupils of the schools of Maurocordato were, Samuel the Patriarch of Constantinople, Eugenius Bulgaris, Archbishop of Cherson, and his companion and successor, Nicephorus Theotoky, of Corfu.

The former, who was educated at Constantinople, and early distinguished himself as a man of genius and a scholar, was created Archbishop of Derkos, and about 1770 promoted to the patriarchal chair of his native city. Here

* Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 30. 140.

† Ib. p. 143.

he was no less distinguished by his scrupulous and vigilant attention to the interests of the church, than by his ardent enthusiasm for the instruction of the Greeks. His voice and his pen were equally devoted to their cause; and, besides some elementary treatises composed by himself, he prepared free translations of the Republic, and some of the dialogues of Plato, and several of the orations of Demosthenes. These have unfortunately never been published, and it is even doubtful, whether in the tumults of the late insurrection, the manuscripts have not been irretrievably lost.* He likewise originated the idea of translating, on an extended scale, the modern classics of Europe; and the Prince Nicolas Karadza published, under his direction, versions of the Abbé de St. Real's "Conjuration des Espagnols contre Venice," and Voltaire's "Siècle de Louis XIV." and "Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations."

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Eugenius Bulgaris was born at Corfu in A. D. 1716, and after an elementary education in the Greek schools, and chiefly at that of Joannina, he resided for some time at an Italian university, and afterwards made a tour of Germany and France. On his return, his talents and acquirements attracted around him a crowd of admirers and disciples, by whose

* Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 36. n. p. 175.

A.D. 1718: persuasions he retired, in 1767, to Mount Athos, where he opened a class for the study of belles-lettres and philosophy.* His lectures were crowdedly attended by the youth of every district of Greece, and his compendiums of logic and physics became the text-books of all the other seminaries. His genius was of that comprehensive and flexible order, which could accommodate itself to almost every pursuit, and theology and poetry, metaphysics and general literature, the speculative and mathematical sciences, received equal illustration from his pen. The possession of such an individual, at such a period, was a treasure inestimable in Greece; but, unfortunately, the philosophy of Eugenius had not raised him above the control of earthly passions: Catharine II. attracted by his reputation, conferred on him the archbishoprick of Cherson; the allurements was irresistible, and in 1775 he abandoned his career of usefulness amongst his countrymen, for a situation of dreary splendour in the Steppe of Crimea. But in the midst of his elevation, his

* At the time that Bulgari taught at Mount Athos, a school was held at Vatopaidhi, on the same mountain, by Neophytus, a monk, who has left some valuable commentaries on the Epistles of Synesius, and the Grammar of Theodore Gaza: he subsequently removed to the Lyceum of Bucharest, at the request of Alexander Ypsilanti.—Leake's Researches, &c. p. 83.

heart was still amongst the secluded gardens of Athos, and the residue of his life was consumed in melancholy and regret. He resigned his archbishoprick in 1779, and retired to the Russian capital. Here the death of Potemkin destroyed his hopes of promotion, and, after an old age rendered miserable by the diseases of an inclement climate, and embittered by disappointment, he expired at St. Petersburg in 1806.

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He was succeeded in the see of Cherson by his countryman and fellow-student Nicephorus Theotoky, who had shared with him the benefits of a domestic and foreign education. He attached himself, on his return from Europe, to the church of Samuel the Patriarch of Constantinople; but owing to a severe rebuke for a trivial offence,* he retired in disgust from the capital, and settled in one of the remote provinces. Here he spent several years in composing works of instruction for the Greeks, a system of geography, a treatise on natural philosophy, and a complete course of mathematics; and his productions, together with those of Bul-

* In delivering the funeral oration of a lady of the house of Gkika, the Hospodar of Wallachia, he had so highly exaggerated the virtues of his subject, that on his descent from the pulpit, Samuel repulsed his salutation, observing, that "The church wanted pastors, not parasites."

A.D. 1750. **garis, are the most valuable literary treasures** which had yet been conferred on his country. In 1779, he was advanced by Catharine II. to the vacant archbishoprick of Cherson, and subsequently translated to that of Astrachan. In the latter, his evangelical labours have been extravagantly lauded by his admirers, who state that thousands of the Tartars were converted by his preaching. He resigned his dignity after a few years' enjoyment, and retired to join his early companion Eugenius at St. Petersburg, where he died in 1800.

It was by the exertions of such individuals as these, that a spirit of inquiry was early in the last century awakened throughout Greece, and a passion for knowledge was infused into the nation, which no pecuniary or local obstacles could suppress. The popular tastes and literature of the people assumed at once a new character; the barbarous poetry and rude romances of the Cretans were abandoned, and, after 1750, the catalogues of Grecian libraries will be found to abound with works of a scientific or historical cast. The progress of events was at the same time highly favourable to the advancement of the Greeks: the Phanariot nobles, rising into influence with the Divan, had infused a spirit of ambition and a sense, though feeble, of political importance into the

minds of the people; and the efforts of the Sultans, after their final triumph over the Venetians, to destroy the power of the Armatolics,* so far from being adequate to such an object, tended only to arouse every vigorous feeling of indignant independence. The spirit of freedom and of knowledge sprang up simultaneously amongst them: every valley sent forth its own Tyrtæus, and the inspiring lyrics which still inflame the enthusiasm of the Greeks, resounded at once from Pindus to Hymettus.†

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Whilst this spirit was thus springing up in Greece, a new power was quickly rising into importance in Europe, which seemed destined to encourage and protect it. From the tenth century, when the faith of the Oriental church was established by Vladimir,‡ as the national religion of Russia, there had been a constant intercourse, more or less intimate, between that nation and the Greeks. The barbarism and feebleness of the former had, however, prevented them from rendering any assistance to their

* See vol. i. of this History, c. xi. p. 425.

† Villemain, p. 179; Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 154. M. Faurel, in his introduction to his *Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne*, states that the earliest date he can assign with certainty to the greater portion of his collection, is about 130 years back, or the beginning of the last century. Introd. p. xcvi.

‡ A.D. 980.

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coreligionists; and it was only when their power began, towards the close of the seventeenth and the commencement of the eighteenth century, to rise into importance, that the Greeks were induced to look towards them as patrons and future protectors. Alexis Michaelowitz, who ascended the throne of Russia in 1645, had endeavoured, towards the close of his reign, to unite the states of Christendom in a crusade to check the advances of the Turks, who were then harassing the territory of Poland, and, if possible, drive them back into Asia:* but Clement X. and the other potentates of Europe, met the proposal only with politeness and promises, nor were any steps ever taken for its execution. The subsequent advances of Russia under Peter the Great, excited the expectations of the Greeks to the highest degree; but their hopes were at once overthrown by the disastrous affair of the Pruth in 1711.† Nor does it seem at all probable, although it has been so asserted, that the designs of the Czar against Turkey proceeded at any time to the same extent with

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxv. p. 352; Dufey, *Hist. de la Régénération de la Grèce*, vol. i. c. i. p. 6; Voltaire, *Histoire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand*, vol. i. p. 87.

† See vol. ii. of this History, c. xii. p. 26; Cantemir, P. ii. p. 452; Mod. Univ. Hist. v. xxxv. p. 452; Voltaire, *Hist. de Russie*, vol. ii. p. 1; Id. *Hist. de Charles XII.* l. v. vol. ii. p. 37.

those of Alexis, or comprehended the restoration of the Greek empire. In his first war with the Sultan, although acting in conjunction with Poland, Germany, and Venice, his conquests were confined to the capture of Azoff,* an inconsiderable town at the extremity of a gulf in the Black Sea, which in his second unfortunate rupture with the Porte he was forced to surrender,† and finally, towards the close of his reign, he was even in alliance with the Sultan against the Persians.

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No direct overtures had as yet, in fact, been made to the Greeks by the agents of Russia; and their expectation of future co-operation was grounded solely on a natural hope of assistance from the only nation possessing the same faith with themselves, which was not subjected to a foreign enslaver, as well as on a reliance on some absurd prophecies which had been circulated even in the days of the Lower Empire, that the emancipation of Greece, at a late period, would be achieved by a fair-haired nation of the North.‡ This idea was likewise strengthened by their intercourse with the Sclavonic tribes, who had inhabited the rude district

* A.D. 1696. Voltaire, *Hist. de Russie*, &c. vol. i. p. 138.

† Voltaire, *Hist. de Russie*, vol. ii. pp. 35. 46.

‡ Dufey, vol. i. p. 13. Some of those prophecies are mentioned in Dr. Walshe's *Journey from Constantinople to Eng-*

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of Northern Greece, from the period of the first barbaric invasion, and who claimed the same origin, spoke the same dialect, and professed the same creed, with the Russians. These, and especially the Montenegrins, learning with delight that a people of their own race had become powerful amongst the states of Europe, had early sent deputies to offer their alliance to Peter the Great, and had ever after preserved an intercourse with the North. At a later period, the hardy soldiers and enterprising merchants of the Greeks had likewise found service and security in the dominions of the Czar, and an interchange of kindnesses had always subsisted between the patriarchs and prelates of Constantinople and Moscow.*

It was not till the reign of the Princess Anne, that the extraordinary progress of the Greeks, and their ardent thirst for freedom, suggested

land, p. 50. 290; and one absurd one, forged most probably in the time of the Empress Anne, is printed in his Appendix No. IV. with an interpretation and translation. It purports to be an inscription found in the tomb of Constantine the Great; the original is given only in consonants, and these have been decyphered, as tradition says, by Geanadius Scholarius, and transmitted to posterity. It foretells with a precision truly remarkable in a prophecy, the overthrow of the Palæologi, the conquests of the Turks, and their approaching destruction by the *ξανθὸν γένος*, or "yellow-haired race."

* Villemain, p. 208.

to her general, Munich, the idea of rousing the Christian subjects of the Porte in arms against the Sultan. He was the first who proposed a scheme for this purpose during the war between the Czarina and Mohamed V.; and emissaries were even dispatched into Epirus and Thessaly to prepare the inhabitants for revolt; but the progress of the campaign assuming a new aspect, and peace being concluded almost immediately afterwards, the idea was abandoned.* Again, in the reign of Elizabeth, when a rupture was apprehended with the Porte, in consequence of the intrigues of the Count de Broglie, the suggestion of Munich, who was at the moment an exile in Siberia, was acted upon by the Russian minister Biren; his agents rapidly traversed the provinces of Greece, in order to sound the disposition of the people, but as the alarm subsided, and a prospect of tranquillity was restored, the enterprise was again postponed.†

It was destined for Catharine II. to take the first efficient steps towards the completion of the "Oriental project" of Munich, who is said, on his recall from Siberia, to have himself disclosed to her his plans of operation.‡ Grego-

* *Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne*, par C. Rulhiere, v. i. p. 164. v. iii. p. 296.

† Rulhiere, v. iii. p. 289.

‡ Castera, v. ii. p. 67.

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1762.

rius Pappadopoulo, or Pappas Oglou as he is more generally termed, was a Thessalian of Larissa, who had retired in disgust from his country, and in the reign of Peter III. entered into the service of Russia. Here he rose to the rank of a captain of artillery, and was one of the conspirators who, in 1762, united with the Orloffs in deposing and murdering the Czar and placing Catharine upon the throne. A close intimacy had subsisted between him and Gregory Orloff, the distinguished favourite of the Empress, and with him he renewed the project of emancipating Greece. The proposal was met with enthusiasm by one who had just triumphed in effecting a revolution in his own country, and who longed to hide the stigma of ignoble birth in the glory of a splendid enterprise. He had aspired even to share the throne of the Czarina; but, disappointed in this, and influenced by the example of Stanislaus Poniatowski (son to the famous Castellan of Cracow), who had lately, by the influence of Catharine, been elected sovereign of Poland, the ambitious favourite dreamed but of crowns and kingdoms. He grasped eagerly at the proposals of the Thessalian, as a portion of a grand design for seating the Empress on the throne of Constantinople; and though the affair was discounte-

nanced by the minister Panin, Orloff exerted his authority as Grand Master of Artillery, to grant leave of absence for three years to Pappas Oglou, whom he instantly dispatched to sound the feelings of the Greeks. Catharine was induced to support this project of Orloff less from any real ambition of her own, than from a desire to gratify the wishes of her favourite. There was something too romantic in the idea, which pleased the imagination of a woman; and throughout the entire progress of the undertaking, she seems to have treated it as an exploit of chivalry, rather than a matter of political importance. Besides, she had a constitutional detestation of the Turks, which served to give a zest to any project for their subversion. She embarked cordially in the projects of Orloff, and, notwithstanding the disapproval of her ministers, she continued to render every assistance, both official and private, to his designs. She endeavoured, but in vain, to rouse the energy of the Venetians against their old opponents, but the torpor of decay had already seized upon the "Rome of the ocean," her senate had abandoned all schemes of war and ambition, and dreamed only of enjoying, as long as fate would permit them, the quiet blessings of repose and peace. They declined the over-

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tures of Russia. Catharine next turned towards England, and was more fortunate in purchasing her friendship, by means of a commercial treaty highly favourable to Great Britain.* About 1764, she dispatched six young Russians to Malta, under the pretext of having them instructed in the building and management of galleys, a species of craft then much in use along the shores of the Baltic, but with secret instructions to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the navigation of the Mediterranean, and the passages of the Archipelago, and to engage for the Russian service all those of the islanders who were best skilled in the seamanship of the Levant. Finally, two ships, the first that had borne the Russian flag in the Southern seas, arrived at Leghorn laden with furs and other productions of the North.† The expense of this adventure was borne by Catharine and Orloff, and its proceeds were privately transferred to Pappas Oglou, for the

* Rulhiere, v. iii. p. 355. The treaty, which was concluded in June 1766, will be found in Martens, *Recueil des Traités*, v. i. no. 21. p. 241.

† Rulhiere, v. iii. p. 298. Villemain, p. 209.—A frigate, named the *Nadejda Blogopelontschik*, “The Successful Hope,” had previously been dispatched to the Levant, under the command of Capt. Plestschyef, and remained cruising there for two years. *Life of Catharine II.* v. ii. p. 29. *Cas-tera*, v. ii. p. 68.

costs of his mission, and the purchase of ornaments for the churches, and presents for the leading men of the Greeks. This adventurer, in the mean time, had been actively employed amongst the Greek residents of Venice, Trieste, and the Adriatic; he had dispatched agents throughout the various districts of Greece, and at length, in 1766, had set out in person for the Morea. A.D.
1766.

It was at this juncture that a remarkable commotion, effected by the interference of Pappas Oglou, occurred amongst the Montenegrins, which tended for some time to attract the attention of the Porte from the affairs of Poland to the disturbances of her own frontiers, and served for a little to retard the declaration of hostilities against Russia.* In 1765, the Bishop of this warlike district had aroused the spirit of his people by proclaiming the advent of a deliverer, and the speedy approach of freedom from the Turks. Whilst their enthusiasm was still ardent, a young and singular adven- A.D.
1767.

* An interesting account of the proceedings of the Russians in Greece, in 1770, will be found in the XIth Book of Ralhiere's *Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne*, vol. iii. p. 285. Rizo, the native historian of the Modern Greeks, and the secretary and friend of Capo d'Istria, the late Russian minister, has cautiously passed over, with a few lines, this interesting event. P. II. c. ii. p. 82.

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1767.

turer appeared amongst them, a monk of one of their convents, who had added to his theological lore the study of medicine, and had gained during a short residence, by his talents and services, the affections of the mountaineers and their priests. His influence over them was strengthened by an air of mystery in which he enveloped all his actions; his features were hidden by the shadow of a huge bonnet, which concealed his face, and a single whisper was sufficient to spread amongst the people the belief that Stephen, the caloyer, was no other than Peter III. the husband of Catharine, who had escaped from the hands of Orloff and his other assassins.* At length, in 1767, so powerful was his hold on the imaginations of the people, that at his summons the Vladikas, or chiefs of the tribe, assembled in one of their gloomy valleys, listened to his proposal of revolt against the Ottomans, entered into a league which was to continue for a year, and received at his hands an oath of fidelity and brotherhood. At a second convocation he proposed that the bond, instead of being annual, should be for ever; the first conjuration was dissolved, and the chiefs of the Montenegrins, under the conduct of Stephen, bound them-

* Villemain, p. 211.

selves by a solemn agreement to eternal hostility against their tyrants.

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Favouring the report of his royal identity, Stephen now attracted around him all those who were known to be in correspondence with Russia. He exacted and received from them the most devoted homage; he walked abroad, attended by a numerous guard, levied from the people a tribute for his support, and pointing towards the direction of Constantinople, promised emancipation and freedom to his followers. He received, with imperial pomp, the abject salutations of the archbishop and the prelates; and in his proclamations to the Montenegrins, he assumed the singular title of "Stephen, little amongst the little, a Sinner among Sinners, and a Saint amongst Saints;" whence he derived the popular appellation, by which he is still distinguished, of *Piccolo Stephano*, or Stephen the Little. The mountaineers, anticipating his pretensions, believed him a direct agent of Heaven, and hasted to proclaim him Emperor of the Greeks; and the rival bishops of Sava and Pech contended for the honour of his coronation and recognizance.

Matters were, however, succeeding too rapidly with the new monarch, and he began to dread a premature explosion in the North ere

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1767.

Pappas Oglou should have sufficiently arranged his plans in the Morea. In order to let the excitement of his partisans cool a little, he selected a body of chosen guards, and issuing from the mountains in October 1767, he crossed over into the Venetian district of Cattaro, where he attempted the same system of agitation and revolt. The Pastrovick pirates, the people of Cattaro, who are chiefly the descendants of refugees from the Peloponnesus, the inhabitants of a town, called from its founders Maina, but occupied by a race who have forgotten their original language, and the natives of a few other districts, flocked at once to his standard, and hailed him with the same enthusiasm as the Montenegrins.

This measure was probably suggested in some degree by the hope of involving Venice in a rupture with the Porte; but the wary republic was not to be so easily entrapped. Her commandant at Cattaro sent to learn the pretensions of Stephano, if avowed; or to require his immediate departure, should he persist in his mysterious incognito. The Senate was in fact reduced to the necessity, either of quarrelling with Turkey, of disobliging Russia, or of declaring hostilities against the Montenegrins. Without doing either, it took such official precautions as satisfied all. It issued a

proclamation, affixing a price to the head of each of its lawful subjects, who espoused the cause of rebellion, and, without taking actual cognizance of existing facts, it rested content by avowing hostility against their future occurrence.

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Europe, in the mean time, expected with intense interest the measures of Catharine in this conjuncture. She had already been seriously annoyed by the proceedings of another impostor, at Woronetz, who had attempted to excite insurrection against her, by assuming the title of Peter III. ; but, in this instance, the phantom was one of her own creation, and, to the surprise of Christendom, she regarded it with complacency ; she even proceeded so far as to request the intervention of the Sultan in quelling this insolent pretender. One of the Pachas of Albania had already sent a body of troops, under the command of a capidji, to put down the malcontents ; but Stephen terminated his expedition by burying him alive, and dispersing his detachment.* His troops then acquiring more audacity began to levy contributions on the loyal subjects of the Porte, stopped the caravans, and even intercepted the tributes destined for Constantinople. The flame thus kindled on the coast spread rapidly to the interior ;

* Rulhiere, v. iii. p. 304 ; Rabbe, p. 130.

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Servia, and Bosnia, the Sclavonians of every tribe, the inhabitants of the Acroceraunian mountains, and the Chimariots, who boast to be the descendants of the ancient Myrmidons,* espoused, with one consent, the cause of liberty ; and the line of the Adriatic coast was aroused from its northern almost to its southern extremity. The Porte, who had originally regarded Stephano as an unsupported fanatic, became now sensible of the necessity of checking his proceedings, and orders were issued for the Pachas of Albania to march against him. The Chimariots, on the first appearance of hostility, laid down their arms, and retired to their native fastnesses, whilst the territory of the Montenegrins was inundated on every side by hosts of Albanians. After a protracted and sanguinary campaign, the forces of the insurgents were completely broken, their villages were burned, and the heads of the bravest of their leaders were sent to decorate the court of the Seraglio. Stephano, escaping by a miracle from his pursuers, fled from cavern to cavern amongst the desolated mountains, and succeeded in concealing himself till the arrival of a Russian vessel,

* The Chimariots are amongst the most warlike inhabitants of Greece. Like the Montenegrins, their profession is war, and from their passion for military service, they have obtained from the Italians the title of the Grecian Swiss.

which professed to come to the succour of the Montenegrins. He was arrested by the commander, on the charge of assuming the title of Peter III.; but was almost immediately set at liberty, and received from Orloff a commission in the service of the Empress.*

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Such was the situation of affairs in Greece, when, in the month of October 1768, the Porte was induced, by the intrigues of the French cabinet,† to declare war against Russia, on the grounds of her undue interference in the affairs of Poland. One of the first measures of the Divan was, the disarming of the Christian population, in the accomplishing which, the grossest atrocities were practised against the unfortunate Greeks; and, at the same juncture, the representations of Orloff, and the influence of Catharine, wrung from the cabinet of St. Petersburg an unwilling consent to the fitting-out an expedition for the Mediterranean.‡

Oct.
1768.

During the two preceding years, Pappas Oglou had been actively employed in stirring up the Mainotes, and other inhabitants of the Morea. With the former, his success had not been flattering. He landed in 1766, at Porto

* Rulhiere, v. iii. pp. 305. 359.

† Life of Catharine II. v. i. p. 422; v. ii. p. 4.

‡ Rabbe, p. 132. 138. Rulhiere, v. iii. p. 330. Life of Catharine II. v. ii. p. 28.

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Vitylo, a small town, to the north-west of Cape Matapan, which was the residence of two of the most distinguished leaders of the modern Spartans, Mauromichali, and his brother Joanni,* on whom he made his first essay. They met his proposals with caution; they represented to him, that the strength of the Mainotes was solely defensive, and that their numbers were too small to render them formidable as assailants; they frankly assured him, that however their countrymen might be unanimous in warding off any attack which threatened their common liberty, that they were too widely separated by conflicting interests, to unite heartily in a doubtful cause. They pointed out, at the same time, the real weakness and timidity of the Greeks, their ignorance of arms and warfare, and their constitutional terror of a Turkish force; and urged the necessity of the Russians coming prepared to do every thing themselves, since no reliance could be placed in the patriotism or promises of the Moreots. At the same time, they informed him of their readiness to co-operate in any reasonable undertaking for the deliverance of the country, which should

* This family, whose name is Jatrani, claim kindred with the Medicis of Florence, but on no other grounds, I should think, than the similarity of their names, *Iatros* and *Medicus*.

be proposed to them by properly accredited agents. A.D.
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Pappas Oglou, who had the double game to play of engaging the Czarina heartily in the project, by laying before her the enthusiasm and promises of the Greeks, and of exciting the mind of the latter by displaying the resources and readiness of Russia, was not sparing of assurances and encouragement; he exerted his influence to the utmost, but finding he could obtain no farther engagement from Mauromichali, he dispatched a pompous account of his success to Orloff, and removed to another point of the Morea.*

At the extremity of the Gulf of Coron, in one of the richest districts of Messenia, there is a town called Calamata, which, though the chief of the canton of the same name, is of slight importance, and contains merely a few inhabitants, who are supported by the culture and manufacture of silk. At the time of which I speak, it was the residence of a Cogia bachi, named Benaki, who enjoyed singular consideration and influence amongst the Turks. His wealth was remarkable, and on the pretext of repelling the incursions of the neighbouring banditti, he had been permitted by the Pacha of the Morea to erect a fortress at

* Villemain, p. 212.

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Calamata, in which he was living when Pappas Oglou appeared to solicit his assistance. Benaki was then far advanced in years; his figure was noble and commanding, he possessed a mind at once frank and penetrating, and, contrary to the general practice of his class, his power with the Pacha was exerted solely for the interest and advantage of his countrymen. The Russian emissary perceived at once, however, that the foible of the Greek proestos was ambition; and, improving the discovery, he dwelt with increased extravagance on the vastness of the preparations and power of Catharine, pointed out the absolute certainty of success, and flattered the hopes of Benaki, that under the auspices of the Empress, he might expect to become the ruler of the Morea, in the event of its emancipation from the Ottomans. Persuaded by his wishes rather than his judgment, Benaki received with eager confidence every bold assertion of the Thessalian, and met every offer of the wily agent with assurances of proportionate assistance from the Moreots. Thus, mutually deceiving each other, Pappas Oglou made the most extravagant promises on the part of his mistress; and Benaki, to hasten the preparations of the Russians, held out equally exaggerated hopes of the co-operation and forces of the Greeks. The deceit ac-

quired instant circulation, the promises of the cogia bachi being implicitly received by his people, and the proceedings of Pappas Oglou reported with equal punctuality at St. Petersburg. Benaki assembled the primates of his district at Calamata, along with a few of the Mainotes, and some of his own relations. An agreement was prepared, which was signed by those present, and to which the names of the absent leaders were fraudulently attached,* by which they bound themselves to bring into the field one hundred thousand men, as soon as the Russian squadron should appear off their shores, with a sufficient quantity of arms, and a proportionate body of troops. Furnished with this precious document, Pappas Oglou repaired to Venice towards the close of 1768, to meet Alexis and Feodor Orloff, who had already arrived in Italy, relying on the statements of their energetic agent. They were accompanied by a young Ukranian, named Tamarra, who, whilst travelling through Greece, had perceived the general excitement existing in favour of Russia, and, being ignorant of its real origin, had hastened to communicate his singular discovery to the Empress. This spontaneous disclosure served still more to confirm

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* Villemain, p. 213. Hope, Anastasius, vol. i. c. ii. p. 26. Rulhiere, v. iii. p. 334.

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the delusion of Catharine and Orloff. Tamara himself, now aware that a grand project was on foot, encouraged by every means the designs of the latter, through a hope of sharing in the enterprise ; and having at length succeeded to his wish, he embarked enthusiastically in the expedition, and hastened to meet the Grecian deputies in Italy. The Orloffs were burning with eagerness and ambition ; Feodor in particular, the youngest of the five brothers, and the most refined and accomplished of his family, reached the shores of Greece, glowing with enthusiasm, and associating with every action and sentence the remembrance and the names of Miltiades and Leonidas. Their arrival gave a fresh impulse to the exertions of their agents ; messengers were dispatched into every province to announce the approach of the " Envoys of God and the Empress ;" they were entrusted with proclamations and military instructions for the people, with letters for the chieftains, with decorations for the churches, and golden medals of the Czarina, for distribution amongst the influential proestoi. A crowd of Russian and Italian officers were quickly attracted to their residence, and a singular commotion was excited amongst the numerous Greeks and Slavonians, whom commerce had brought to Italy. Funds were sup-

plied in abundance by Catharine; and Maruzzi, a native of Joannina,* and proprietor of a banking-house at Venice, was induced, by the title of a Marquis and the decoration of St. Anne, to become the Russian agent in the Adriatic ports.† These proceedings, however, did not escape the notice of the Senate; and Orloff received an intimation that his presence was no longer agreeable at Venice. His avowed object in visiting Italy, had been merely curiosity, and the pretext which covered his arrival served likewise to account for his departure. He obeyed without delay, and removed for the prosecution of his plans to other quarters.

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In the mean time, preparations were proceeding with equal activity at St. Petersburg. The position of the army in the South was such as to conquer in some degree the opposition of the Russian ministry to the Grecian expedition. The division under Romanzoff had been driven from Moldavia and obliged to fall back upon Poland, where it was encamped upon the banks of the Dneister, surrounded by 60,000 Turks, and in a position of the most imminent danger.‡ A diversion in Greece

* Pouqueville, *Régénération de la Grèce*, v. i. c. ii. p. 41.

† Castera, *Histoire de Catharine II.* v. ii. p. 61. *Life of Catharine II.* v. ii. p. 32. Rulhiere, vol. iii. p. 340.

‡ Rulhiere, vol. iii. p. 345.

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seemed the only measure to draw off the attention and forces of the Turks, and secure the success of the war. But whilst they consented to the attempt, they did not fail to point out to Catharine, that an expedition, on a scale such as she meditated, was totally beyond the means of Russia ; that the expenses of supporting the army in the South, in the midst of a barren and devastated country, had already embarrassed the finances of the nation ; that she had neither arms, stores, nor troops sufficient for such an enterprise, and that the inevitable result of her measures, if not conducted with greater moderation, would be the destruction of the Russian marine, the futile expenditure of enormous sums, the ridicule of Europe, the total destruction of Greece, and the malediction of its deluded and immolated inhabitants.

Sept.
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A squadron, consisting of seven ships of the line, four frigates, and a few transports, and carrying twelve hundred men, was fitted out with all expedition, and dispatched precipitately from Cronstadt, in the month of September 1769. Its departure was expedited by the approach of winter, and the dread of the ports being closed by the frost, as well as by a rumour that the Greeks were absolutely so frantic for freedom, that their leaders feared they could not be restrained longer from revolt,

and that any attempt, unless supported by the presence and co-operation of the Russians, would involve them in inevitable massacre. The equipment of the expedition could not, in consequence, be completed before its arrival in England, which it reached after many difficulties and some loss. Here its appearance was by no means calculated to excite favourable anticipations of its success. The Russian navy, which had been comparatively neglected since the days of Peter the Great, had made no advance in improvement during the eighteenth century. Their vessels still retained the enormous sterns and lumbering tackle which had been in use when the Czar conceived the first project of founding a marine ; their sailors had but little expertness or practice in working them ; and their filth engendered a contagion which had already swept away large numbers of the troops. In the haste of their departure, the antiquated stores of the old arsenals had been hurried on board, and their armouries were stocked with weapons of so ponderous and primitive a construction, as to be of little use in modern warfare. The squadron was under the direction of Spiritoff, a rude, uneducated sailor, who had risen from before the mast to the rank of admiral ; but its real conduct was confided to an Englishman, the Commodore Gregg. Alexis

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Orloff likewise, though without the slightest experience of naval affairs, had received the title of Lord High Admiral, and on the arrival of the expedition in the Mediterranean was expected to take the command. It had on board a number of English seamen, who had been engaged by the exertions of the Russian minister, M. Mouskin Pouskin, together with the six young sailors who, I have already mentioned, had been sent to Malta for instruction. They had returned some time before to St. Petersburg, and brought with them, besides much valuable personal knowledge, a code of instructions drawn up by some of the junior Knights of St. John, containing directions connected with every department of the Turkish navy, ports, passages, and seamanship, and suggestions as to the best modes of attacking them to advantage. There were besides, in each ship, a few Greeks from the island of Myconi, whose inhabitants enjoy a high reputation for their knowledge of the navigation of the Levant.* After a delay of a few weeks, the preparations of Spiritoff were at length completed, and towards the end of 1769 he sailed for the Mediterranean.†

* Villemain, p. 215.

† Annual Register, 1770, p. 27. Rabbe, *Histoire de Russie*, p. 394. Rulhiere, vol. iii. p. 347. *Life of Catharine II.* vol. ii. p. 28. Castera, vol. ii. p. 60.

The Orloffs, on their departure from Venice, had visited the principal seaports of Italy with which they had correspondence, still occupied with the same extensive plan of intrigue and preparation. Some circumstances had, in the mean time, occurred to open their eyes to the exaggerations and falsehoods of Pappas Oglou. A deputy from the Mainotes had expressed to the Count Alexis, the dissatisfaction of his people, excited by a paragraph in one of the Count's letters, in which he had informed them that the Czarina consented "to receive them in the number of her subjects." Indignant at such an insult, the independent warriors had sent their representative to disclaim such a connection, but to offer their alliance in any measures taken by Russia with reasonable grounds of success, and at the same time to urge upon the Orloffs the utter impossibility of effecting anything in Greece without the aid of at least ten thousand foreign troops. The forces expected from Russia fell, unfortunately, infinitely short of this number; but Alexis and his brother, satisfied of the justice of the views entertained by the Mainotes, used every exertion to remedy the deficiency. By means of the sums advanced by Maruzzi, and their other agents, by promises of estates in Greece and lands in Russia, they had enlisted in their service numbers of the

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Italians, who awaited in their several ports the arrival of the vessels which were to convey them to the Morea. Ships were engaged to take on board these recruits, together with stores and ammunition, with directions to hold themselves in readiness to sail for Minorca as soon as the arrival of Spiritoff's squadron should be announced at Port Mahon. In the interim, an expedition was planned for the relief of the Montenegrins. A few troops were sent under the conduct of Russian officers to the foot of the Black Mountains, where, after a vain parade of protection when there no longer remained a people to succour, they re-embarked with the remnant of Stephano's followers and the fanatic prelate, who had first countenanced and supported his insurrection.

In the Ionian islands, the intrigues of Pappas Oglou and his agents had been followed by the most decided success, and crowds of the inhabitants only waited for the signal to embark on board the fleet of the common deliverer. Notwithstanding the vast extent of these preliminary arrangements, and the number of agents who were entrusted with their management, it is a singular fact that no one individual had yet breathed the secret, or given the slightest alarm to the Ottoman Court. Orloff had, in fact, manifested all those talents essential to an ac-

complished conspirator, and looking back at the vastness of his transactions in a country of whose language he was ignorant, the number of his agents, and the extent of his mysterious intrigues, one scarcely knows which most to admire, the tact and rapidity with which his projects were realized, or the fidelity which preserved their secrecy so long inviolate.

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In November 1769, the first division of Spiritoff's squadron arrived at Port Mahon, where provisions and supplies already awaited it. Besides this port, Catharine had succeeded in securing those of Tuscany, and Sardinia; Venice declined any co-operation or assistance, and the Grand Master of Malta would only agree to receive the vessels of the Empress three at a time in the harbour of La Valetta.* Since the departure of Spiritoff, the military affairs of Russia had assumed a new aspect; their armies had again been successful in the South; the Turks had been already totally defeated on the Black Sea, and the insurrection of Greece was no longer a measure of mere expediency. The plan of the ensuing campaign (1770) was, however, laid down on the wildest scale of an ambitious imagination. The Morea was to be aroused, the Dardanelles forced, a Russian fleet was to descend

Nov.
1769.

* Annual Register, 1770, p. 28.

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1769. the mouths of the Don, one army to cross the Danube, another penetrate Asia to the Bosphorus, and the Russians, thus pouring from every point, were to unite beneath the walls of Constantinople, expel the Turks from Europe, and seat the Czarina on the throne of the East.* The Turks, on the first announcement of the Baltic expedition, had treated the matter as a literal impossibility; in their gross geographical ignorance, they were unaware of the existence of a passage between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean. M. Vergennes, the minister of France, had warned them of their danger; but with a constitutional distrust of Christian friendship, they overlooked his suggestions. So convinced were they of their safety, that they even dispatched to the Black Sea a squadron of seven ships of the line, and some gallies, the last which had remained for the defence of the capital. The Pacha of Candia at length advised them of their error, by an orthodox announcement of the actual arrival of Spiritoff; but the strongest feeling excited by the communication was admiration of the astrological abilities of M. Vergennes, who they now remembered had predicted his coming.†

* Rulhiere, v. iii. p. 364.

† Rulhiere, v. iii. p. 388.

No time was, however, to be lost, and orders were issued to fit out a fleet with all expedition, in order to meet the threatening invasion. A.D.
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An individual, who was destined to take a prominent part in the future affairs of Turkey, was at this time rising rapidly into distinction at Constantinople. This was Gazi Hassan, the celebrated Capitan Pacha of the Ottoman navy.* Born in Persia, and carried off by a party of Turkish soldiers during the troubles incident on the death of Nadir Shah, he spent his early years as a servant in a caffè at Rhodosto,† whence he joined a regiment raised by the Sultan's permission for the service of the Dey of Algiers. Here he rapidly distinguished himself by his bravery and talents, and ob-

* The title of "Gazi," (*conqueror*), was conferred upon Hassan after the action at Tchesmè (of which presently) by the Sultan Mustapha III. Eton, Survey, p. 85. Castéra, v. ii. p. 69. An interesting sketch of the life of this remarkable man is inserted in the second and third volumes of the "Fundgruben des Orients, or Mines de l'Orient," conducted by M. Von Hammer. A brief but accurate account of him, and of the Russian expedition, will be likewise found in the second volume of Mr. Hope's Anastasius, chap. ii. p. 26, &c.; and M. Rulhière has sketched his adventures with much spirit and elegance in the eleventh book of his *Histoire de Pologne*.

† Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage*, &c. v. ii. p. 488.

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tained in a short time high military rank, together with the government of the province of Talimsan.

A faction, excited against him by a relative of the Dey, obliged him to seek protection in flight, and, abandoning his wife and children, he succeeded in making good his escape to one of the ports of Spain, where he was hospitably protected by Charles III. He subsequently passed over to Naples, and being furnished with credentials from Ferdinand IV. to his minister at the Porte, he ventured in 1760 to return to Constantinople. He had scarcely landed, when he was denounced by the agent of his old enemy, and placed under immediate arrest. The influence of the ambassador of the Two Sicilies was sufficient, however, to procure his release, and prevent the confiscation of his property, which, besides plate and jewels, amounted to upwards of 20,000 zechins. By the agency of some private friends, he was quickly introduced to the notice of the Sultan; his quarrel with the Dey of Algiers was adjusted; his family was brought from Talimsan to the capital; and Hassan himself was honoured with the command of a frigate of fifty guns.* In 1768 he had risen to the rank of vice-admiral, when he rendered essential

* Mem. Mines de l'Orient, p. 3.

services to Mustafa, by the improvement which he effected in the Ottoman marine, which, at the commencement of the Russian war, was in the most pitiable state of weakness and corruption. When the alarm was given of the approach of Orloff, all eyes turned upon Hassan as their only reliance in so serious an emergency. Constantinople was totally unprotected, nor did there exist either stores, funds, or seamen, for the equipment of a fleet. Hassan, chiefly at his own expense, commenced fitting out a squadron of twenty vessels in the Bosphorus; and with these and the assistance expected from Algiers, Barbary, and Alexandria, it was hoped that an effectual head could still be made against the audacious Muscovites.*

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In the beginning of February, Spiritoff sailed from Minorca; his squadron was separated into two divisions. One, under the command of Gregg, shaped its course towards Sardinia, where it was to be met by the Count Alexis and Pappas Oglou, and was thence to drop down the coast of Tuscany, and receive on board the recruits, who had been engaged by the various agents of Russia. The other, under the direction of Feodor, who had joined Spiritoff at Mahon, steered for Malta, where he proposed awaiting the arrival of his brother, and where

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* Mem. Mines de l'Orient, p. 6 ; Rulhiere, v. vii. p. 388.

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he likewise expected to receive efficient assistance from the Knights. So far, however, from this being the case, he was refused admission to either harbour by the Grand Master, unless for the purpose of repairs, and forced to proceed alone to the Morea. The Turkish inhabitants, in the mean time, had heard some indistinct rumours of the intended revolt, and, under the influence of this panic, had massacred a party of Zaccuniote peasants, who were quietly returning from a fair at Patrass, but whom their imagination had converted into an army of rebels.* They had been alarmed, too, by the appearance of a vessel of war,† which had been seen for some weeks mysteriously hovering about the islands on the western coast; but in their terror, they took no decided steps for their preservation, and the consternation and confusion was universal throughout the peninsula, when,

Feb. 28. on the 28th of February, 1770, the squadron of Feodor Orloff cast anchor in the bay of Vitylo. Immediately on his arrival, Feodor was waited upon by the two brothers, Mauro-michali. But it was in vain that he urged them to active exertion; they had entered into no engagements, and they persisted in demand-

* Hope's Anastasius, v. i. c. ii. p. 27.

† That which I have mentioned as having been sent to the assistance of Montenegro. (ant. p. 310, 322.)

ing the direct authority of the Empress, ere they embarked in so perilous an enterprise. Feodor, confounded by their coolness, attempted to bring them to terms, by exhibiting the counterfeit document, which had been forwarded to him by Pappas Oglou. But their indignation knew no bounds when they saw this audacious forgery: it explained at once the nefarious delusion which had been practised on both parties; and they unhesitatingly avowed to Orloff their despair and disapproval of the attempt. Nor was their opinion more favourable on coming to learn the extent of Feodor's armament; when, instead of ten thousand men, and abundance of arms, which they had been led to expect, five hundred Russian soldiers were landed at Porto Vitylo, together with a few cases of muskets, which, from their primitive construction, might have passed as the models of the first inventors of fire-arms.

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They abandoned at once all ideas of a political nature; but, observing Feodor firm in his determination to proceed, they at length consented to co-operate with him, induced by the reflection that this commencement of hostilities had already compromised them with their rulers, but chiefly by the hopes of Turkish plunder, and the certainty, under all reverses,

A.D. 1770. of a secure retreat in their savage mountains.* They directed his attention to the immediate reduction of Coron, which was in no condition for defence; but a fortnight was consumed ere the vessels had been thoroughly discharged, and galliots dispatched to collect the succours promised by the islanders. During this interval, no symptoms of co-operation whatever had been manifested by the Moreots; the system of agitation had in fact been partial and incomplete; there was no general union or understanding throughout the peninsula; and even those who were most deeply implicated in the intrigues of Pappas Oglou remained totally inactive, in the firm reliance that the Russians were sufficiently powerful of themselves to effect the revolution. The sight of the miserable force of Feodor was not likely to establish confidence, or arouse their ardour. It was in vain that he protested to them that he was merely the advance-guard of a powerful expedition, and that he daily awaited the arrival of his brother, with a fleet of sixty sail: in vain the Montenegrin Bishop bore the cross throughout the coasts of Maina, and called the Greeks to arms; the Moreots, disappointed in the strength of their deliverers, conscious of their own imbecility, and overpowered by the no-

* Dufey, Régénération, &c. v. i. c. ii. p. 16.

velty of their situation, hung back in alarm, and left all to the management of the Russians. Benaki, the enthusiastic colleague of Pappas Oglou, was equally mortified and alarmed by this pitiful accomplishment of the magnificent promises which had been held out to him. His exertions, like those of the rest, were paralyzed by terror; he sent a few hundred miserable recruits to the head-quarters of Orloff, but reserved the main body of his retainers for the arrival of Alexis, when he hoped to boldly fling aside the mask. He ventured likewise to visit the camp in person, and, by his advice, the forces there collected were divided into three detachments, two of which received the pompous titles of the Eastern and Western Legions of Sparta.* The first, under the command of a young Myconiot sailor, named Psaros, was to penetrate the eastern district of the Morea, and assemble the Mainotes; the other, consisting of about two hundred Greeks and a few Russians, was to march in the opposite direction, and co-operate with the peasantry of the western coast; Feodor himself, at the head of a body of four hundred Russians, Sclavo-

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* Voltaire *Corr  spondence de l'Imp  ratrice de Russie*, lett. xliii. ¹²/₂₇ May, 1770. This letter contains the substance of a bulletin from Feodor Orloff of the proceedings of the troops, which is a good specimen of diplomatic exaggeration.

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nians, Mainotes, and Montenegrins, proceeded to lay siege to the citadel of Coron, which was defended by a garrison of four hundred Turks and Dulcignioti.*

The western legion, under the command of a Russian officer, having taken possession of Calamata, after a feigned defence by Benaki, penetrated into Messenia, massacring and plundering in every direction the unfortunate Turks. They reached the little town of Arcadia, which was surrendered by its garrison, on the terms of being transported to the Archipelago; and here, after the departure of its defenders, they established their head-quarters. Psaros, with his little band, having traversed without opposition the defiles of Maina, and swelled the number of his troops by the accession of the peasantry, plundered the towns of Passava and Bardounia, and descended with his forces into the valley of the Eurotas. Hence he advanced to Misitra, the capital of modern Lacedæmon. The Turks, terrified by the appearance of the Russian uniform, which was borne by a portion of his followers, retreated precipitately to the citadel on his approach, and, after a brief negotiation, surrendered to him the city. The plunder and massacre was then commenced by the Mainotes; but the firmness of Psaros having

* Annual Regist. 1770, p. 30; Villemain, p. 220.

repressed their intemperance, he assembled the prelates and proestoi, formed them into a senate for the government of the town, received into his pay about three thousand Greeks, who had descended from the hills, and assumed himself the supreme command, in the name of her Imperial Majesty Catharine II.*

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The peninsula was now, from north to south, in a state of the most painful agitation; but beyond those conquests which had been made by the actual presence of the Russians, no decisive movements had yet taken place in their favour, and the Turks, though terrified beyond measure, were still in possession of the interior of the Morea. The greater portion of them had fled for protection to Tripolizza, where, by the directions of the Pacha, they prepared to defend themselves, till the arrival of a body of Albanian mercenaries, who were daily expected to come to their assistance. The Pacha himself, who had been Grand Vizier at the commencement of the Russian war, and deposed in consequence of his opposition to its being entered upon, had taken up his abode at Napoli di Romania, one of the strongest fortresses of Greece, where he proposed awaiting the arrival of the fleet from the Dardanelles.

* Villemain, p. 221.

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The siege of Coron had quickly been turned into a blockade. The Turks in the citadel had complete possession of all the fortifications, and the Greeks, whose dwellings were within range of their cannon, were prevented from giving any assistance to Feodor. His troops had thrown up a few trifling batteries, but these were not sufficiently provided with artillery; and the squadron who had cast anchor in the roads, was so badly manned, that, instead of affording any co-operation, they were obliged to moor out of the reach of the guns of the fortress. The Turks, unalarmed by all these feeble operations, rested quietly in their quarters, and contented themselves by discharging each morning a single round of cannon, which they had taken advantage of the cover of the night to load without exposure.

The news of the Russian expedition had induced a few speculators to fit out some store-ships for the supply of the belligerents. One of these being informed of the siege of Coron, entered the bay in the hope of disposing of his cargo; but seeing the Russian squadron riding at anchor, the troops quartered on the shore, and the fortress all quiet, they naturally concluded that the Turks had capitulated. They in consequence bore away without communicating, and circulated in every direction the re-

port of the fall of Coron. This intelligence seemed to infuse some confidence into the minds of the Greeks. The inhabitants of Missolonghi, which contained but four Ottoman families, independently of the officers of the government, took up arms in the cause of liberty; they gave the Turks due notice of their intentions, and facilitated their escape from the town.* The primates then assembled the citizens, took every possible precaution for their defence, seized on Anatolico, a little fortified island in the lagunes before Missolonghi, and sent to Feodor to place themselves under his command, and entreat the protection of a single vessel, of which they offered to furnish the equipment. The inhabitants of Athens and Corinth wanted but the appearance of the Russian flag in the gulfs of Salamis or Corinth, to rise against their rulers, occupy the isthmus, and cut off all communication between the Morea and the Turks of Northern Greece. The Thessalians in like manner demanded eagerly the supply of arms, which was to have been dispatched for them to Volo; and the Cyclades, and Candia in particular, waited only for the command of the Russians, to make a general uprising in their favour. Above all, the inhabitants of Zante, Cephalonia, and the other Ionian islands, manifested the

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* Annual Register, 1770, p. 29; Villemain, p. 222.

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most enthusiastic ardour in the cause. No proclamation, no force, of the Venetians, could restrain them; they assumed the uniform of the Empress, hoisted the standard of the Cross on their coasting craft, and landing on the Moreot shores, attacked the Turks with resistless fury. They attempted the reduction of Patras, and having occupied the town, drove the Turkish troops and inhabitants within the walls of the castle;* and they took possession, without a contest, of Gastouni, a trading village opposite Zante, which they immediately sent to surrender to Feodor.

Two months had now been disgracefully consumed in the attempt to reduce the unimportant citadel of Coron; and so exclusively had it occupied the attention of Orloff, that he could answer the demands of the Greeks for supplies only by promises and bravado. He had in vain urged his soldiers to attempt a general assault; they were inadequate to the effort: he had endeavoured to gain an entrance by driving a mine under the walls; his design was discovered, and a sortie of the garrison dispersed his engineers, and thoroughly destroyed their works. The Greeks at last, disgusted with the delays and weakness of their liberators, reproached them openly with their in-

* Annual Register, 1770, p. 31; Villemain, p. 223.

efficiency ; mutual recriminations ensued : the Russians charged them with deceit in magnifying the resources of the country ; the Greeks upbraided them with falsehood in exaggerating the vastness of their preparations. Mauro Michali at length told Feodor boldly, that he was only destroying the houses of the Greeks ; that he was ignorant of the mode of attacking a Turkish stronghold ; that he would follow no advice, and was merely ruining the Moreots, without injuring their oppressors. The Russian retorted with insult and invective. Mauro Michali replied, that had he under his command the whole hosts of the Czarina, he was still but the slave of a woman : " As for me," said he, " I am the chieftain of a free people ; and, were I the last descendant of my race, my life would be more valuable than thine." * At this alarming crisis, the first division of the long-expected squadron of Alexis cast anchor in the bay of Vitylo, and for a little retarded the dispersion of the Mainote troops. Feodor, wearied with the protracted siege of Coron, resolved to attempt some new enterprise, and a portion of this seasonable reinforcement was dispatched to the attack of Navarino, under the command of General Hannibal, son to an African slave of Peter I. The Turks, on their

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* Rulhiere, v. iii. p. 398.

A.D. first approach, capitulated without opposition ;
1770. they were transported in an English vessel to Candia, and the Russians remained masters of the fortress and the most secure harbour in the Morea.*

Apr. 23. On the 23d of April, Alexis Orloff cast anchor with his remaining detachment in the bay of Coron ; and the united forces of the Russians then amounted to six vessels of sixty guns, four frigates of twenty, two armed transports, and about eight hundred soldiers. He resolved at once on abandoning the profitless blockade, and issued orders for the troops and fleet to move toward Navarino. The unfortunate Greeks of the place, on the first intimation of his departure, rushed in crowds to the shores of the gulf, and implored the Russians not to leave them unprotected to their fate. Alexis could only consent to receive a portion of them on board the fleet ; the remainder, with their wives and little ones, followed on foot the track of the Russian army, and abandoned their dwellings to the fury of the Turks, who, immediately on their departure, completed the demolition and ruin of Coron. Alexis now resolved to alter the plan of the campaign, and overrun the interior, before attempting farther conquests on the coast ; and Pappas Oglou and his

* Villemain, p. 223.

emissaries were again dispatched to rouse the peasantry, and announce his approach. Psaros, who still remained inactive at Misitra, received orders to march with all his forces upon Tripolizza, where a communication had been already opened with the archbishop and primates of the Greeks; and in order to repair the disgrace incurred before Coron, Prince Dolgorouki was dispatched from Navarino with a thousand Russians, Montenegrins, Mainotes, and Messenians, to lay siege to the town of Modon;* but the fortress was gallantly defended by eight hundred Janissaries, and its reduction promised to be as tedious and difficult an attempt as that which had been just abandoned.

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The Turkish fleet, issuing from the Dardanelles, had in the mean time appeared upon the coasts of the Peloponnesus, and the Dulcignots and Albanians were already advanced to the isthmus. A party of the former, in passing by the entrance to the Gulf of Lepanto, had witnessed the preparations of the Missolonghiots for flight. Their entreaties for assistance having been disregarded by Feodor, and the defences of the town being inadequate to their protection, they had resolved on abandoning their homes to the advancing Alba-

* Pouqueville, *Régénération*, &c. v. i. c. ii. p. 44; Dufey, v. i. c. ii. p. 17.

A.D. **nians, and escaping to the Ionian islands. They**
1770. **had stowed their property on board thirty small**
 vessels, and were on the point of departure,
 when the arrival of a party of Dulcigniots, in
 their boats, suspended their intentions. For
 seven days they resisted successfully the attacks
 of these plunderers, who finally drew off on an
 expedition to surprise Patras. Then, embark-
 ing in their small craft, one portion of them
 succeeded in gaining the Venetian islands, but
 the other having taken refuge in Anatolico,
 were a few days after besieged, overpowered,
 and, notwithstanding a capitulation, butchered
 by the Albanians. The Dulcigniots entered
 Patras on the night of Good-Friday, when the
 Greeks were engaged in celebrating the fes-
 tival in their churches; they were joined by
 the Turks who had retired to the fortress, and
 pouring through the streets, they slaughtered,
 with indiscriminate fury, the unarmed and asto-
 nished Greeks. A few only escaped in some
 Zantiot boats, and the remainder who survived,
 betook themselves to the shelter of the sur-
 rounding mountains.

 The Albanians, who had been expected by
the Pacha, arrived at length at the isthmus, to
the number of 20,000, under the command of
the Pacha of Bosnia. They entered Corinth
without opposition, and, forming themselves

into two divisions, one penetrated the north of the Morea to the district of Patras, where they committed the grossest atrocities; whilst the second advanced with all expedition to the assistance of Tripolizza. They reached it but a few hours after Psaros and his legion, who, having dragged a few cannons through the mountains, were busily occupied in throwing up batteries to commence the assault. The Turks, on the first appearance of their allies, sallied sword in hand from the gates, united with the Albanians, and rushed furiously on the assailants. The Moreots fled on the first onset, their batteries were forced and demolished, and the Russians, almost to a man, were slaughtered on the spot.* Three thousand Greeks, of every age and sex, fell in the action, or were sacrificed in the indiscriminate butchery which ensued; and the archbishop and others, suspected of correspondence with Orloff, were executed, by order of the Pacha. The Ottoman troops, who now amounted to six thousand, encamped without the walls, to await the arrival of their fleet at Napoli di Romania, whence they proposed marching upon Navarino, Misitra, and Modón, and cutting off the residue of the invading army; whilst Hassan, with his squadron, should obstruct their escape by sea.

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* Annual Register, 1770, p. 81; Villemain, p. 224.

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The crisis of the ill-fated expedition had at length arrived ; detachments from the forces of the Sultan were spreading in all directions death and devastation, and the miserable inhabitants, as well those who had disclaimed a connexion with the revolt, as those who had been seduced by the representations of the Russians, were every where plundered and put to the sword. Too lately awakened to a consciousness of their delusion, those who, in the first ardour for freedom, had joined the standard of Feodor, now deserted the cause of the invaders, and fled precipitately to the islands, or concealed themselves in the ravines of the mountains ; and Alexis was left at Navarino with no other adherents than the remnant of the Russians, the children, the women, and the old men who had fled from Coron, and its vicinity, and a few Mainotes who still adhered to the fortunes of Benaki. Such was the destitute situation of affairs, when, on the evening of the 20th of May, a second squadron, which had sailed from Cronstadt in the October previous, under the command of Admiral Elphinstone, cast anchor in the Bay of Vitylo, and landed a reinforcement of 600 troops and marines.*

The equipment of this expedition had been attended with much delay and difficulty ; El-

* Castera, v. ii. p. 68.

phinstone had to struggle with all the fears and prejudices of uneducated and unskilful sailors, and to contend at the same time with a spirit of insubordination in his officers, which prompted them to thwart the authority of a stranger. One vessel of sixty-four guns had deserted him shortly after sailing from Russia, and a frigate was lost through unskilful management in the Gulf of Finland. After wintering and provisioning in England, he sailed from Portsmouth on the 13th of April. His appearance off Vitylo was enthusiastically hailed by the Mainotes, who supplied him plentifully with provisions and other necessities, and urged him to send with all expedition a detachment of his forces to Misitra, which was still in the possession of Psaros, who had retreated thither after his defeat under Tripolizza. He was in the act of complying with their request, when a dispatch from Psaros informed him, that the fleet of the Capitan Pacha had been discovered from the tops of the mountains, steering for the Morea, and the news being almost simultaneously confirmed by a Greek cruiser, who came to anchor at Vitylo, he sent a courier to Orloff to announce his intentions, and demand a reinforcement, and the same day set sail for the Gulf of Argos, to meet the Turkish squadron.

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The naval force of the Sultan, consisting of twenty sail, was conducted by Giaffir Bey, a timid and ignorant man, under whom Hassan, as Vice-admiral, held the second command. One division of ten sail had been sent to levy the tribute, and repress the turbulence of the islanders; and of the remainder, four had been dispatched with ammunition and provisions to the fortress of Napoli, whilst the remaining six awaited their return at the entrance of the Gulf, whence they were to proceed in company to the relief of Navarino.*

They had formed their junction, and were proceeding on their course, when, on the morning of the 24th of May, they were met off Cape St. Angelo by Elphinstone, who promptly attacked in his own vessel the flagship of the Capitan Pacha. A brief action ensued, which terminated by the Turkish fleet retreating beneath the fortress of Napoli di Romania. Here they were again assailed by the Russians the following day, but without any decisive success; nor would Giaffir have summoned courage to advance from his entrenchment beneath the batteries, had not the Pacha of Napoli, alarmed for the safety of the town, threatened to turn the guns of the fortress on him if he did not instantly sally out.

* Mines de l'Orient, &c. v. ii. p. 8.

The Russian captains, in the mean time, had become alarmed for their safety, on contrasting their own numbers with the superior force of the enemy, and had sent a message to Elphinstone, that if he did not immediately retreat from the bay, they would themselves abandon him, and repair to join Orloff at Navarino.* This intimation decided him; he weighed anchor without delay, and steered for the South, followed by the whole Turkish fleet, who got under weigh at the same time.

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On Sunday, 3rd of June, he encountered Spiritoff and Feodor, in the Gulf of Kolokythia, with four ships of the line and one frigate of twenty guns. They had that day taken on board at Vitylo the troops which had been landed by Elphinstone on the 21st, and which, instead of proceeding to Misitra, had halted after advancing about twenty miles into the country, and dispatched a messenger to Alexis to inform him of their destitute condition, without provisions or support from the inhabitants. By the directions of Orloff, who was himself in a similar state of panic and alarm, they retreated towards the shore, to await the return of their ships,

* This fact, and several others indicative of the mutinous condition of the Russian navy, are related in a short Narrative of the Expedition, written by one of the English officers on board Elphinstone's squadron.—Lond. 8vo, 1772.

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1770. "loaded with the execrations of the few Greeks who had joined them, and who now fled in despair to the mountains."*

It had not been decided, previous to the departure of the two Admirals from Russia, which was to assume the supreme command on their arrival in the Mediterranean, and Elphinstone, on uniting his division with that of Spiritoff, now offered to place himself under his direction; but this, by the advice of Feodor, was declined. Spiritoff struck his flag, and the entire squadron proceeded under the conduct of Elphinstone to seek for Hassan and the Turkish fleet. They came up with him the following morning, in the narrow strait which separates Hydra from the main, and Elphinstone hung out his signals for a general pursuit. To his surprise however, though repeated three times, they were unanswered by Spiritoff; and at length, about sunset, he advanced alone, and commenced the attack on the Turkish line: a brief cannonade ensued, and Giaffir, after a faint show of resistance, sheered off, followed by his whole fleet, which steered with a fair wind for the Archipelago.

The appearance of the Capitan Pacha off the coast was the signal for the Turks and Albanians to recommence their atrocities, and eight

* Narrative of the Russian Expedition, &c. p. 36.

thousand of them descended at once into the plain of Coron by the pass of Nisi. A narrow defile in the vicinity of this village had been occupied by four hundred Mainotes, under the command of Joanni Mauro Michali, who had previously abandoned Orloff in disgust. In this dilemma, however, his natural generosity rose above his feelings of resentment : he saw clearly that the destruction of the Russians was inevitable, should they await the approach of a force so overwhelming ; and, calculating that the Albanians would lose no time in falling upon Navarino, he sent a messenger to Alexis, to say that his exertions were again at his service, and that he was willing either to join him in person in his present difficulties, should he resolve on resisting the forces of the Sultan, or to remain where he stood, and, by disputing the pass, give the Russians time to escape on board their fleet. Ere an answer could arrive, the defile was beset by five thousand Albanians. His band of warriors were slowly dispersed or cut to pieces, and Joanni himself, with his last four-and-twenty followers, was besieged in a house where they had retired for refuge. Here he defended himself for three days against every assault, till, his companions being slain, the Turks in despair set fire to the house, and

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The Turks now spread like a torrent over Maina, strewing its plains with carcasses; and, being joined by the garrison of Coron, attacked and cut to pieces the greater number of the Russian troops who were laying siege to the fortress of Modon. About two hundred who escaped fled with precipitancy to Navarino, and abandoned to the enemy thirty-eight cannon, four field-pieces, and two mortars.

The vicinity of this town was now beset by vast multitudes of the deluded and fugitive Greeks, who in vain claimed from Orloff food or protection. As the Albanians advanced upon them, he ordered the gates to be closed, whilst the air resounded with their mournful cries for shelter from their murderers. Orloff was deaf to every entreaty; and, on the near approach of their enemies, the devoted wretches rushed towards the shore, and crowded into a few boats that lay beneath the town, which sunk with their numbers, ere they had gained a few yards from the beach. About four or five thousand succeeded by a circuitous path in gaining the little island of Sphacteria, which forms the western defence of the harbour; and here, seated on a barren rock, beneath a burn-

ing sun, the bodies of their relatives floating on the waves around them, without food, shelter, or protection, they saw the Russians embark on board their fleet, and, sailing from the harbour, abandon them to their fate. It was in vain that Benaki and Pappas Oglou opposed this disgraceful retreat, and represented to Orloff that all was not yet hopeless: in vain they urged him to await the issue of the naval engagement, the result of which was hourly expected: he would listen to no remonstrance—the sick and the wounded, some hundreds of Grecian troops, with their primates, and the bishops of Coron, Modon, and Patras, were hastily forced on board, and Alexis proceeded in search of Spiritoff and Elphinstone.* Had he remained but a few days longer, and defended Navarino against the assault of the Albanians, the result of the campaign might have been far different; and the Turks, unsupported by their fleet, would have had but little confidence in a grand attack upon the Russian forces, entrenched as they were in a formidable fortress, and provided with every requisite for defence. Reinforcements, likewise, had been raised for him

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* Villemain, p. 227. Pappas Oglou shortly after died at one of the islands of the Archipelago; and Benaki, forced in his old age to abandon his home, his wealth, and his children, wore out the feeble thread of his existence in Russia.

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in the North: the Montenegrins and Chima-riots had by no means abandoned their enthusiasm in the cause; and a body of pallikaris, amounting to three or four hundred men, were already on their march to his assistance, under the command of Androuzos, one of the most distinguished Klefts of Livadia. When this gallant little band, after braving all perils, had gained the south of the Morea, they were thunderstruck to find the Russians departed, the Mainotes dispersed, the Greeks in despair, and the Albanians masters of every fortress and defile.* Androuzos had no other resource than to force a passage through the midst of these miscreants back to his native mountains. He returned boldly to Tripolizza, and, presuming on the fact of his having taken no active part in the revolt, he demanded a passport from the Pacha for himself and his companions. His request was granted, but not till precautions had been taken to prevent his ever reaching Livadia. Constantly on his guard, and alive to suspicion, he arrived, after encountering numerous dangers, by circuitous routes, at the Isthmus of Corinth, where an ambuscade of several thousand Turks were stationed to intercept his farther progress. Attacked unawares

* Villemain, p. 227; Fauriel, vol. i. p. 102.

by these, he succeeded in retreating to a favourable position, and suddenly wheeling round upon his pursuers, he drove them again to their concealment. He next shaped his course to the west, along the shores of the Gulf of Lepanto, in the hope of reaching Patras, and effecting his escape to the Ionian Islands: but the continued assaults and harassment of his enemies rendered his march one protracted combat. Night and day his sufferings were unremitting; sleep was impossible; and the only provisions of his famishing followers were the precarious forage of their route, or such as they could wrest immediately from their discomfited foes. At length, after nine days of unparalleled endurance, his band arrived, exhausted and perishing, in the vicinity of the little town of Vostizza. Here they were surrounded by their pursuers, and, in spite of their weakness, they maintained their position for three successive days, without rest, food, or sleep. On the fourth, by the advice of Androuzos, they mustered their remaining energies for one final and decisive effort; they burst upon the Ottomans, ere they were aware of their movements, with all the impetuosity derivable from a desperate resolution, to force their passage or fall in the attempt. The contest was brief and bloody. Androuzos lost one half his little

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1770. band, but led the remainder triumphantly over the bodies of three thousand Albanians, and, having procured shipping at Vostizza, retired laden with booty to Preveza, which was then under the protection of Venice. This gallant exploit, worthy the best days of Ancient Greece, and that of Mauro Michali at Nisi, are the only glorious incidents of the insurrection of 1770 ; but they are of themselves sufficient to show, that in any other hands than those of the Russians, its event might have proved eminently advantageous to the unfortunate Moreots.

Immediately on the departure of Orloff, the Pacha issued throughout the Peloponnesus a proclamation of general amnesty and pardon ; the families of the fugitive Greeks were treated with kindness and humanity, and every exertion was made to restore tranquillity and confidence, and to obliterate the horrid traces of war. His efforts were counteracted, however, in a great degree, by the savage excesses of the Albanians, who continued, even after the restoration of peace, to pursue their career of bloodshed and plunder. The Porte was long unable to suppress their enormities ; nor was it till nine years had elapsed, that the resolution and bravery of Hassan Pacha succeeded in totally rooting out those ruthless devastators, and re-

storing peace to the peninsula. Such was the gloomy termination of this romantic project of establishing a republic in Greece. That the idea was never cordially entertained by the Russian cabinet, I have already endeavoured to show; and their acquiescence in the attempt at a particular juncture of their affairs, was evidently an unwilling compliance with the importunities of the Empress, half disguised under the plea of temporary expediency. The merit of the project belongs exclusively to the aspiring imagination of Orloff; and its support by Catharine may be safely attributed to her desire to gratify the wishes of her favourite paramour, not to any speculations either of ambition or classical enthusiasm. This is sufficiently evinced by the evidence of her own private correspondence, in which, even in her highest anticipations of its success, she seldom speaks of it with warmth, and treats it with the vilest contempt on the first reverse of fortune and its abandonment by Orloff.* Its prepara-

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* In the correspondence of Catharine with Voltaire, the subject of the Grecian expedition is frequently introduced. At first, she speaks of it with considerable doubt, seems fully sensible of its romantic character, and anxious that its success should justify it in the eyes of Europe. "Il faudra voir ce qu'il fera," says she, "c'est un spectacle nouveau que cette flotte dans la Méditerranée. La sage

A.D. 1770. tions, as far as they regarded the interior of Greece, were injudicious and imperfect, and its first explosion was in every way premature. Instead of attempting a partial insurrection, supported by a handful of foreign troops, its developement should have been simultaneous and unanimous, and the whole force of the Russians should have been on the spot, to aid and intimidate. Its entire conduct was cha-

Europe n'en jugera que par l'évènement." (Voltaire Corresp. de l'Impératrice de Russie, Lett. ²⁰/₉ Oct. ²/_{Nov.} 1769.) Her next emotion is irritation at the gibes cast by the English prints and others, on the construction and clumsiness of her navy : the letter is dated ¹⁸/₁ Feb. ¹/_{March,} 1770, when a report had reached her that Spiritoff had sailed from Mahon ; and though now on the point of action, her only anxiety is, that he should show the falsity of the assertion that her ships were not sea-worthy, (hors d'état d'agir.) In her subsequent letters up to that of the 27th of May, which I have already quoted, she treats the subject in the coldest terms ; but the exaggerated dispatches of Feodor having then excited her feelings, she informs Voltaire, in the most extravagant terms, of the success of her troops. This is the only instance in which she seems to regard the affair with satisfaction. In her later communications she is silent, or speaks only of reverses and doubts. (Lett. xxvii. &c.) But when she at last learns the failure of the expedition, and the abandonment of the Morea by Orloff, her disgust of the Greeks knows no bounds. " Les Grecs, les Spartiates," she writes, " ont bien dégénéré, ils aiment la rapine mieux que la liberté ;" and again, " Si votre chère Grèce, qui ne sait que de faire de vœux, agissait avec autant de vigueur que le Seigneur des Pyramides, le théâtre

racterized by gross ignorance of the genius of the people, and the resources of the country ; and although the Russians behaved with distinguished bravery at Tripolizza and Mondon, their leaders were totally deficient both in talent, courage, and resources. The system of mutual deception which pervaded it throughout, could not fail to be productive, eventually, of disappointment, disunion, and

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d'Athènes cesserait bientôt d'être un potager et le lycée un écurie." (Lett. ²⁸ Sept. 1770, ¹⁴ Aug. 1771.) The Seigneur des Pyramides, to whom she refers, was the celebrated Ali Bey, chief of the Mamelukes, who, in 1766, flung off the allegiance of the Porte, and plundered Djedda and Mecca.

Nor is the consistency of Voltaire throughout these letters more remarkable than that of his Imperial correspondent. During the early progress of the expedition, his raptures are intense when he speaks of the glorious projects of the Empress : the liberation of the Greeks is a cause in every way worthy the Semiramis of the North ; and such an expedition is only equalled by that of Hannibal into Italy. Each straggling report of the success of Orloff is carefully transmitted to St. Petersburg, accompanied by the most ardent congratulations, and elaborate flattery. As the clouds gather a little round the Russians, he mentions the subject seldomer, and with greater caution ; and at length, when their defeat is no longer doubtful, he soothes the disappointment of Catharine, by the assurance, that even failure in such an attempt would entitle its projector to immortality. Hannibal was repulsed from Italy, it is true, but has he inherited less glory on that account ? (Lett. xxviii. Aug. 1770.) Sometimes, in his subsequent epistles, he ventures to ask, in the event of a peace,

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disgust; and finally, it was abandoned through the timidity of its leader, (who, though well calculated for a conspirator, wanted all the requisites for a general,) at a crisis when the probabilities of success were at least equal to those of failure. Its occurrence, however, though it retarded in some degree the progress of the Greeks towards enlightenment and freedom, was not altogether unproductive of beneficial results. The seeds of liberty had been scattered far and wide throughout the pro-

what is to be the fate of Greece, (*que deviendra ma pauvre Grèce?*) but at length, when he finds the tables completely turned, he joins heart and hand in the abuse of the Greeks; he calls them unworthy the favours destined them by the Czarina; he fears he will never be able to read their language with pleasure again; and were it not that Catharine is a member of the Greek communion, he believes he would even detest their religion! (*Lett. cvii.*) Nor is this all; Catharine, in one of her abusive dispatches, asks him if it be really true, as asserted by Algarotti, that the Ancient Greeks were not the inventors of art? To which he replies, that *so far from their being its inventors*, they received it at second-hand from the Egyptians, who had themselves derived it from Chaldæa. "*Civilization was so tardy amongst the former Greeks,*" he adds, "*that they only acquired their knowledge of writing from the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and imitated their letters from Tyre, at a period when the Phœnicians were already visiting every quarter of the Mediterranean in their trading ships. Nay, so totally deficient were they in invention*, that their philosophers were sent to study in India, and Pythagoras brought thence the knowledge of geometry!"

vinces of Greece; and though they might bud and bloom in obscurity, they would not fail in the end to produce abundant fruits. The overthrow of the Moreots had taught them the real extent of their weakness; but at the same time, their partial triumphs had shown them likewise the capabilities of their strength, when skilfully directed; and there can be little doubt, that in their subsequent preparations for a successful revolt, they derived many valuable hints from the incidents of this their first calamitous defeat.

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Elphinstone, after the escape of the Turkish fleet from the Straits of Hydra, had repaired to Port Raphti, north-east of Colonna, and after careening and cruising about the shores of Attica, was joined, on the 23rd of June, by Alexis Orloff and Gregg's squadron of five sail, off the island of Falconera. They proceeded in company to Paros, where the admiral's flag was, by the order of Alexis, transferred to the ship of Spiritoff; and learning that the Ottoman squadron was drawn up to await them in the Straits of Scio, they got under way on Sunday, the 1st of July, to meet it. Contrary to the advices of Hassan, the Capitan Pacha had drawn up his fleet at the northern extremity of the harbour of Tchesmé, under the protection of a few batteries hastily thrown up for the

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occasion.* His own vessel was moored about a mile from shore, to the windward of all the rest, and his line was so unskilfully arranged, that not more than five of his largest ships could bring their broadsides to bear on the Russians at a time.† Early on the morning of the 7th July, Elphinstone led the Russian squadron into the Straits, favoured by a light wind from the north-west. Immediately on his appearance, Giaffir ordered out his felucca and hastened on shore, under the pretence of issuing orders as to the management of the batteries, thus leaving the entire command of the action to the Vice-admiral Hassan. At an early hour, a council of war was held on board Orloff's vessel, when it was arranged that

* Mines de l'Orient, v. ii. p. 8. Narrative, &c. p. 53. Choiseul Gouffier, v. i. p. 94. The town of Tcheshmé stands on the site of the ancient Cyssus, and it was in this same strait that the Romans (191 B.C.) destroyed the fleet of Antiochus.—Livy, lxxxvi. c. 43, 44, 45.

† Their force consisted of the Capitana Ali Bey, of 100 guns, the Capitana Pacha of 96, the Catrona Ancharee of 84, the Real Mustapha, the Mulensi Achmet, and Zefir Bey, of the like force; the Achmet of 74, the Emir Mustapha of 70; and the Hamesi, Barbaroscena, Ali Candicta, Meelim, Kepulin, and the Rhodes, all of 60 guns, besides two large frigates, some zebecs, three galleys, many half galleys, and neutral vessels, in all amounting to upwards of one hundred sail.

the attack should be in a line with the star-board tacks on board; that Spiritoff and Feodor were to lead the van, the Lord High-Admiral, on board the ship of the English Commodore Gregg, was to follow in the centre, and Elphinstone, much against his inclination, was to bring up the rear.* At noon, Alexis

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* In the details of this action, I have preferred following the "Narrative" before alluded to, to that of M. Rulhiere, which varies from it in some particulars; whilst that of the Italian biographer of Hassan, in the Mines de l'Orient, corroborates in every essential item the statements of the English officer. The following list of the Russian force is extracted from his account of the expedition.

ADMIRAL ELPHINSTONE'S DIVISION.

<i>Ships' names.</i>	<i>Captains' names.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Swetalsloff, (Admiral's ship)	Kmetefskoy . .	670	84
Netronmena . . .	Beschentsoff . .	512	66
Saratoff . . .	Stefanoff . . .	512	66
Northern Eagle, put back†	Jenjusehoff . .		32
Nadishda, frigate . .	Palivinooff . . .	212	32
Africa . . .	Cleopin . . .	212	32
Count Czernicheu	Trans-ports. {	Dishington . .	22
Count Panin . .		Bodie . . .	18
Count Orloff . .		Arnold . . .	18
St. Paul . . .		Preston . . .	6

† This was a 66-gun ship, but, being left as unfit for service at Portsmouth, Admiral Elphinstone repaired her for an hospital ship, letting her carry only 32 guns.

A.D. hung out the red flag as the signal to advance,
1770. and Spiritoff, in the *St. Eustafie*, attacked the vessel of the Capitan Pacha. In bearing down upon her, he was exposed to the guns of four others of the Turkish line, and lost about a hundred of his crew. Reserving his fire till within musket-shot of the Capitana Bey, he opened with a terrific broadside, which was

ADMIRAL SPIRITOFF'S DIVISION.

<i>Ships' names.</i>	<i>Captains' names.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
St. Eustafie† (Admiral's ship)	Kruse	512	66
Europa	Klokacheff	512	66
Jannare	Borisoff	512	66
Trochsvahtclue, or the Three			
Saints	Roxburg	512	66
St. Meholai	Polacré, with 100		
	Greeks on board		32

COUNT ORLOFF, when he joined the fleet near Paros.

Troch Hierarché, or the

Three Bishops	512	66
Rasa Slay. A bomb ketch .	Gregoriech	512 66

Total of the line-of-battle 9

Frigates 3

Sloops 3

Transport 1

The *Vestal* armed ship, with some others, joined the fleet a few days after the destruction of the Turks.

† Blown up in close engaging the Turkish Admiral.

promptly returned by Hassan; and as the shot of the Turks were directed chiefly towards his rigging, his vessel became in a short time unmanageable; his starboard mainbrace, and his larboard main-topsail sheet, were successively cut away; and at length his rudder was completely shattered and torn off by a ponderous marble ball from the battery on shore. Neglecting, in his confusion, to drop his anchor, he drove with all sail set full on the broadside of the enemy. The two ships were instantly entangled, and the Turks, pouring through the port-holes and dropping from the rigging, boarded with the most determined bravery. Spiritoff, convinced of his danger, sought only to spread destruction as widely as possible amongst his assailants: he ordered vessels of inflammable matter, grenades, and blazing torches, to be flung on board the Turk; and twenty Maltese divers, plunging into the sea, attempted to scuttle and sink the enemy. The remainder of the hostile armaments, which had not as yet engaged, forbore to proceed, and hung in breathless suspense, to mark the event of the combat between their leaders. The confusion quickly became mutual on both vessels; the Russians, boarding in turn the Turkish admiral, tore down her flag, and, being repulsed by Hassan, strewed his decks and their own with carnage.

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Reinforcements were sent both from Elphinstone and the Ottoman fleet to replace the dead; and the contest, thus renewed, continued for upwards of two hours undecided. At last, a volume of flames burst from the quarter-gallery of the Ottoman, and, communicating rapidly to the rigging of the Russian, both vessels were in an instant enveloped in fire. Spiritoff, with Feodor and about twenty officers, abandoned the *St. Eustafie* to her fate, and Hassan, forbearing to slaughter her defenders, thus left without a leader, prepared in common with them to provide for his own safety. Both crews plunged together into the waves, and were picked up, as many as it was possible, by the Russian boats. The two ships, separating by the effects of the conflagration, were driven by the wind full on the Turkish line. The *St. Eustafie*, consuming the most rapidly, was the first to explode; whilst the other, inflamed chiefly aloft, fell blazing into the midst of the Ottomans, which, cutting their cables, retired precipitately into the harbour of Tchesmé, and left their position to be taken up by the Russian squadron. Hassan, whilst swimming towards the shore, severely wounded, was picked up by one of Orloff's boats, but was again about to be flung into the sea by the orders of the Lord High-Admiral, who had proclaimed no

quarter to the enemy, in consequence of their firing on the Russian sailors whilst engaged in rescuing the drowning crews. The writer of the "Narrative" pleaded earnestly for his life, and was on the point of succeeding, when a Greek coming up, flung Hassan into the waves, at the same time discharging his pistol, and grazing up a long gash between his shoulders with the bullet. His intercessor again endeavoured to save him, and, ordering out his boat, pulled to his assistance. He had already seized his hand, and was raising him from the water, when a cowardly Russian officer discharged a second shot at him, and drove a ball through his neck. His countenance immediately changed from hope to a bitter expression of stern contempt; he dropped the grasp of his protector, kissed his hand in token of gratitude, and committing himself to the sea, again struck out for the shore, which he was fortunate enough to reach.*

In their trepidation, the Turkish fleet had congregated together without system or precaution in the little port of Tchesmé, which was so far from affording them sufficient anchorage, that several of the smaller craft were obliged to be drawn up on shore under shelter of the larger vessels. It was in vain that Has-

* Narrative, pp. 67, 71. Rulhiere, p. 434.

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The same interval was employed by Elphinstone and Spiritoff in preparations for his destruction. It was resolved in a council of war, that, after sunset, three brulots should enter the harbour, under the cover of a division led in by Gregg, and whilst the latter occupied the attention of the enemy, the former were to fire their shipping. Accordingly, at midnight, the action recommenced, and Gregg, on board the Ratisloff, fell thundering amidst the enemy, whilst an extraordinary cannonade, and profuse discharge of bombs and grenades, served to terrify and distract the Turks. Concealed by this terrific uproar, the three fire-ships, conducted by one Russian officer and two English lieutenants, named Dugdale and Mackenzie, advanced unmolested into the midst of the Ottoman fleet. But already the work of destruction had com-

menced : a Turkish frigate had been set on fire by a heated ball from the Ratisloff, and the flames having already communicated to her companions, were spreading rapidly along the line. Dugdale, deserted by his crew, kindled the train of his brulot with his own hand, and sending her blazing amidst the foe, leaped scorched and wounded into the sea, and was picked up by a Greek boat. Mackenzie and his colleague performed their duty with equal spirit and determination, and in a few moments the mighty armament presented one huge pyramid of flames. The atmosphere far and wide was illumined by the terrific blaze, the town of Tchesmé seemed as if seated in the midst of a glowing furnace, and the brilliant reflection shone high above the hills of Clazomene and the distant Cyclades. The spectacle from Scio was terrific beyond description ; the inhabitants could mark distinctly the progress of the devouring fire, and distinguish the rapid thundering of the loaded cannon as they discharged themselves amidst the flames, and hear the explosions of the Turkish ships as they were successively blown up by the conflagration. As morning dawned, the surface of the bay appeared covered with floating timbers, and the carcasses of 9,000

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A.D. 1770. Turks* who had perished in the catastrophe; and the long sweep of the shore was piled with the blackened and smoking wrecks of the Ottoman fleet. One vessel of sixty guns, and a few galliots, were all that had escaped, and the former falling into the hands of Orloff, its command was conferred on Dugdale for his gallant conduct in the affair.† Besides seven hundred sailors and marines who perished on board the *St. Eustafie*, Orloff had not lost altogether more than about thirty men. *Tchesmé* was the following day plundered by the Russians, and its inhabitants flying to Smyrna, brought the news of the defeat, and excited a commotion, in which upwards of a thousand Greeks were murdered in the streets,

* *Mines de l'Orient*, v. ii. p. 9. *De Tott*, v. ii. p. 28.

† Catharine, in her announcements of this splendid action, attributed its success exclusively to Orloff, although his vessel lay at an extreme distance from the combat. In a letter to Voltaire, written in the September following, she assures him that the conduct of the fleet was entirely in the hands of Orloff, and that her admirals had nothing to do with its arrangements; "*Pas sous le commandement de mes amiraux, mais sous celui de Comte Alexis Orloff.*" (*Corresp. &c. Lett. lvii.*)—At a subsequent period, likewise, she denied Dugdale all honour in the affair, although this meritorious officer, after rising to the highest rank in his profession, obtained a pension and permission to retire to England, "on the grounds of his important services at *Tchesmé.*"—*Castera*, v. ii. p. 71. *Rulhiere*, v. iii. p. 441. *Histoire de Russie*, par Rabbe, p. 395.

together with numbers of the European residents. The utmost alarm, likewise, existed at Constantinople, lest the victorious squadron should attempt the passage of the Dardanelles, and prescribe the terms of peace beneath the walls of the Seraglio. This measure was warmly urged by Elphinstone, but opposed with obstinacy by Orloff; who insisted that the only duty which now remained, was to occupy the islands of the Archipelago, blockade the Hellespont, and cut off all supplies on that side from the capital, and that it would be time enough to attempt the bombardment of Constantinople when they heard of the arrival of an army at Trebisonde, or the descent of a squadron from the Black Sea to the Bosphorus.

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After ten days spent in deliberations on the propriety of attacking Scio or Smyrna, the former project was given up, through fear of the Turkish troops known to be on the island; and the latter, at the request of a deputation from the consuls and merchants of the city, who represented Smyrna, though situated in the enemy's country, to be less a hostile fortress, than a neutral depot of commerce for all the European nations.* It was consequently resolved that Orloff, together with Gregg, whom he had raised to the

* Narrative, &c. p. 87. Rulhiere, v. iii. p. 444. Villemain, p. 230. Annual Register, 1770. p. 37.

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The design of Orloff was to possess himself of Lemnos, as a convenient port whence he could keep a strict look-out upon the straits, and await in safety the arrival of a third squadron daily expected from the north. He landed his troops and laid siege to the castle, which was gallantly defended by the Turks; and nearly three months were spent in a lazy blockade of this unimportant fortress. A few batteries had been constructed, which, if properly manned, might readily have forced a surrender; but the want of skill with which they

* Castera has erroneously represented the affair of Lemnos as prior to that of Tchesmé, (v. ii. p. 69.) and Tooke, the author of the Life of Catharine II. who follows him closely, has copied the error (v. ii. p. 41.)

were conducted, served only to inspire the garrison with confidence. In the mean time, the English officers and sailors had been all withdrawn, by an order of their government, and the exhausted Russians were left solely to their own resources. At this juncture, Hassan, recovered from his wounds, had collected at the mouth of the Bosphorus a numerous band of those who had escaped from the ruin of Tchesmé, and were anxious to retrieve their reputation by delivering the castle of Lemnos. They landed in boats on the eastern side of the island to the number of 4000, and, on the night of the 9th of October, attacked the encampment of Orloff. Though they bore no other arms than their yataghans and pistols, the Russians were so terrified on their approach, that they could think only of flight; they rushed headlong to the shore, hurried on board their vessels, and without pointing a single cannon at their assailants, or waiting even to weigh anchor, they cut their cables and sailed from the harbour, leaving Hassan in triumphant possession of the town and citadel.*

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This disgraceful expedition was the last affair of importance attempted by Orloff during

* Choiseul Gouffier, v. i. p. 81, 82. Mines de L'Orient, v. ii. p. 11. De Tott. Memoires, v. ii. p. 85. Narrative, &c. p. 1. 20. Rulhiere, v. iv. p. 78. Villemain, p. 231.

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his command in the Mediterranean. He retired shortly after with the fleet to the harbour of Naussa, in the Island of Paros, whence, after giving directions for the constructing an arsenal and raising defences for the winter, he repaired to Italy on his return to Russia. He was received by the Empress with the most extravagant congratulations,* and obtained in honour of his victory the title of Tchésimensky. In the beginning of the ensuing year he again set out for the Levant, with the specious intention of prosecuting his designs in Greece, and seconding the exertions of the rebels in Egypt; but, in reality, on an enterprise much more congenial to his disposition. The author of the "Narrative," to which I have before referred, mentions, that at this time Elphin-

A.D.
1771.
Jan.
11th.

stone, who was still at Paros, received orders from Alexis to repair secretly to Leghorn, where he and his sons passed their quarantine under the assumed name of Howard. The circumstance is mentioned with some surprise by its narrator, but the subsequent tragedy of the unfortunate Princess Taranoff, who was forcibly carried off from Italy by Orloff, and subsequently drowned in an inundation of the Neva, sufficiently ex-

* Castera, v. ii. p. 77.

plains the mystery.* Elphinstone, however, was not the agent of this atrocious transaction; between him and Orloff there had ever existed the most bitter aversion, hatred on the one side and contempt on the other. He passed from Leghorn to St. Petersburg, where he was received with coldness by Catherine, and having finally quitted her service, he retired to England in disgust.† The fleet continued for some time to harbour at Paros, till an epidemic making its appearance amongst the men, the station was abandoned, the arsenal dismantled, and, on the peace of Kainardji, in 1774, the expedition returned to the North.

A.D.
1770.

* See the particulars of this nefarious transaction in the *Histoire de Russie*, par M. Rabbe, p. 396, &c. and in the second vol. of Castéra's *Memoirs of Catherine*.

† Rulhiere, v. iii. p. 455.

CHAPTER XVI.

Ali Pacha.—The Suliots.—Russian war, A. D. 1789–92.
—Progress of Education in Greece.—Rhiga.—A. D. 1774
to 1798.

A.D.
1770. THE successes of the Russians in the campaign of 1770, both on the Danube and in the Mediterranean, though brilliant, were far from being decisive; and the events of the following year, coupled with the domestic disturbances of the empire, and the bursting out of the plague at Moscow, induced Catherine II. to listen to overtures of peace. The negotiations at Foksani, however, terminated unfavourably, and in 1773 hostilities again commenced. But the Empress was now too deeply engaged in her plans for the dismemberment of Poland, to pursue with ardour her designs against Turkey: the operations of Romanzoff were at first unsuccessful; but in 1774, having worsted the Vizier Muhssin Zadé in almost every engagement, and

A.D.
1771.

A.D.
1773.

at length enclosed him with his army in Shumla, a peace was concluded, on terms highly advantageous to Russia. It was signed at the village of Kutchuk Kainardji, in Bulgaria, on the 21st of July; and by one of its most important articles, the Mediterranean conquests of the Czarina were restored to the Sultan, with stipulations for the pardon and security of the insurgent Greeks.*

A.D.
1774.
July
24,

In consequence of this treaty, the Russian fleet evacuated the Cyclades, and returned to

* “*Traité de paix entre la Russie et la Porte Ottomane, conclu le 10 (21) Juillet, 1774. Au Camp près la ville de Chiuscino Cainardgi.*

• • • • •

“*ART. XVII. L'empire Russe restitue à la Sublime Porte toutes les Isles dans l'Archipel, qui néanmoins sont sous la domination de Russie. En revanche, la Porte promet de son côté,*

“*1. D'observer religieusement les conditions, stipulées dans le premier article à l'égard de l'amitié et de l'entier oubli de toutes sortes d'accusations et de soupçons formés contre les sujets comme s'ils s'étoient comportés au préjudice de l'intérêt de la Porte.*

“*2. Que dès maintenant et à jamais, la religion chrétienne ne sera plus exposée à la moindre persécution, ni défendu d'améliorer et de rebâtir ses églises, ni que ses ecclésiastiques soient jamais raillés et persécutés, de quelque manière que ce puisse être.*

“*3. Que dans deux ans à compter du jour de la restitution de ces isles, qui ont été au pouvoir de la Russie, il ne sera exigé de leurs habitans aucune imposition pour cause*

A.D. 1774. St. Petersburg. Its presence in the Levant, especially, after its defeat at Lemnos, had been productive of the most frightful disorders: Spiritoff and his officers had made frequent descents upon the islands, but without effecting any object beyond partial plunder, which was sure to be followed by the indiscriminate massacre of the unfortunate Greeks. Candia, Cyprus, Negropont, and Stancho, had been thus attacked in 1773: in the former, the Pacha had retaliated by assailing the villages of the Sfachiotes, which he reduced to ruins, and compelled their defenders to submit to a tribute to the Porte, which they had long successfully refused; and in the latter, the Turkish commandant, after the departure of the Russians,

de dommage et de dégâts, soufferts pendant le cours de la présente guerre.

“4. Qu'il sera libre aux familles, qui voudront quitter leur patrie, d'emporter leurs biens et ce qui est à elles; et qu'afin qu'elles puissent convenablement mettre ordre à leurs affaires, il sera accordé le terme d'un an, à commencer du jour de la ratification de ce traité.

“5. Qu'au cas qu'au départ de la flotte Russe, lequel devra avoir lieu en trois mois après la dite ratification, elle ait besoin de quelque chose, la Porte fournira tout ce qui pourroit lui manquer.” Martens, *Recueil des Traités*, v. i. no. 44. p. 507. See also Eton's *Survey*, c. ix. p. 351. *Histoire de Russie*, par M. Rabbe, p. 402. Thornton's *Turkey*, v. i. p. ccxxii. Rizo, *Hist. de la Grèce Mod.* P. 2. c. i. p. 90.

sent four sacks of scalps to Constantinople to attest the promptitude of his retribution. In addition to this, the Albanians and Dulcigniots, who had joined the expedition, supported by the protection, and assuming the flag of the Empress, interrupted the commerce of the Archipelago by the most daring piracies, and the trade of the Levant was completely suspended by their atrocities.*

A.D.
1774.

The Porte, occupied with the war on the Danube, and unsupported by any naval force, was unable either to repress these excesses, or direct its attention to the expulsion of the Albanians, who still continued to ravage the Morea.† After driving off the Russians, these

* Annual Register, 1773, p. 21; 1774, p. 9. Villemain, p. 232.

† Eton reports, that on the departure of the Russians, the Turks inflicted the most summary vengeance on the inhabitants of the Morea, that the Greeks were massacred indiscriminately, and that whole districts were left destitute of inhabitants. (c. ix. p. 352.) The improbability of this, at a time when the Turks were anxious and yet unable to protect the Greeks from the fury of the Albanians, is sufficiently apparent; and it is more than likely that M. Eton erroneously attributes the wanton barbarities of the latter to their masters. He is likewise the author of the story, that a proposal was made in the Divan to exterminate altogether the refractory Christians of the Morea, which was abandoned on the naïve suggestion of Gazi Hassan, that "if the rayahs were destroyed, there would be a deficiency in the capitation re-

A.D. 1774. miscreants, on the plea of being unpaid for their services, had taken their remuneration into their own hands. One party, more anxious than their companions to return towards home, had departed north, laden with the plunder of the Peninsula; but the remainder, allured by the beauty of the country, established themselves in the lands and houses of the miserable Greeks. Having driven these to the extremity of destitution, they next attacked the Turkish residents with equal rapacity; and in the course of a few years the Peloponnesus was reduced to barely one-fifth of its former population, its manufactures, its agriculture, and its commerce being completely destroyed by the wanton barbarity of the Albanians.* For nine years these excesses continued unrepressed; eleven expeditions had been successively fitted out against the plunderers, but each failed through the weakness or ignorance of its commander. At length, in 1779, Gazi Hassan, who had attained the rank of Capitan Pacha, was ordered to conduct a squadron to the Morea, where he was to be joined by the forces of the neighbouring Pachas, and proceed to expel the Albanians.

A.D.
1779.

turns." (c. ix. p. 345.) Such a tale is too gross for even the primitive barbarism of the Ottomans.

* Pouqueville's *Régénération*, v. i. p. 46. Villemain, p. 234. Rabbe, p. 165. Fauriel, *Chants*, &c. p. 217.

On his arrival in the bay of Argos, he was waited on by a deputation from the insurgents, who attempted to place their opposition on the footing of justice, by stating that they waited only for the liquidation of their lawful demands to depart from the Morea. A commission was accordingly appointed to investigate and adjust their claims; but all attempts at such an arrangement were rendered fruitless by the turbulence of the Albanians; and Hassan, wearied with their delays, at length advanced upon Tripolizza, where they had established their head-quarters. His force, besides a body of Moslemin troops, consisted of a number of Greeks who had been sufferers from the common enemy:* with these he departed from Argos on the 10th of June, and the following morning attacked the rebels. His first step was decisive; in one action he completely routed the Albanians, who were encamped to the number of 3000 beneath the walls of the city,† under the command of two Toskides named Bessiaris, and having dispatched a Tartar to Constantinople with the report of

A.D.
1779.

June
10th.

* Amongst these was Colocotroni, one of the bravest of the Moreot Klefts, who was put to death by Hassan after the expulsion of the Albanians.—Villemain, p. 237; Carrel, p. 180.

† Pouqueville says 10,000.(v. i. p. 46.) I quote from the Mines de l'Orient, v. iii. p. 227.

A.D. the victory, and a portion of heads for the
1779. court of the seraglio, he raised of the remain-
der a lofty pyramid which long graced the
eastern gate of Tripolizza.*

After this exploit, Hassan was invested by the Sultan with the government of the liberated province, where he applied himself with all assiduity to the restoration of order and re-establishment of agriculture and commerce. His penal measures were confined to such precautions as would prevent the recurrence of insurrection in future; and the revenues of the bishops, as the active agents of the late revolt, were confiscated, and conferred by the Sultan on the mosques and imarets of the Morea.† The remnant of the Albanians were enticed by promises, or compelled by force, to quit the Peninsula, for which purpose every facility was offered them in the name of the Sultan. One portion, consisting of 11,000 men, proceeded as far as Eleftheri, a village near Thebes, on their return northward, when they were attacked and destroyed by the inhabitants, aided by a portion of Turkish troops placed in ambush to intercept their retreat; a second,

* Mines de l'Orient, v. iii. p. 221—227. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 46. Rabbe, p. 167. Rizo, Histoire, &c. p. 90.

† See vol. i. of this History, c. x. p. 368. Villemain, p. 238.

less numerous, embarked on board the vessels of Hassan, and were drowned by his orders on attaining a distance from the shore.*

A.D.
1779.

One individual who accompanied Hassan in this expedition, was mainly serviceable in obtaining favourable terms for the Moreots: this was Mauroyeni, a native of Mycone, who had risen to the rank of Drogueman to the fleet,† and became subsequently Hospodar of Wallachia.‡ A strong attachment subsisted between him and the Capitan Pacha, with whom his influence was paramount on every occasion, and in the present instance it was particularly exerted in favour of the Moreots, the Missolonghiots, and islanders. The resentment of the Sultan, too, is said to have been softened by the intercession of the daughter of a Greek priest, who had been made a captive by the Albanians, and sold at Constantinople. She had been raised to the rank of a Cadine in the harem of Abdul Hamed, and it was remarked that thenceforward his rage against the revolted Peloponnesians was gradually abandoned.§ Hassan, on his part, saw the indis-

* Rabbe, p. 166. Carrel, p. 183.

† See vol. ii of this History, c. xii. p. 13.

‡ Rizo, p. 92.

§ Rizo conjectures that this lady was mother to the reigning Sultan, p. 92.

A.D.
1779. pensable necessity of encouraging and supporting the Greek islanders, as well from their importance to the Turkish navy, as to prevent their attaching themselves to the Russians, whose influence in the Black Sea, since the treaty of Kainardji, was much to be dreaded by the Porte. Catherine, too, as if to make partial amends for the miseries her indiscretion had entailed upon the Morea, omitted no opportunity to assist and befriend the Greeks; a seminary was established at St. Petersburg, in which 200 youths received a liberal education; the best ecclesiastical endowments of Russia were enjoyed by Greek prelates; and numerous offices, diplomatic and military, were conferred upon those whom domestic oppression had driven to seek an asylum abroad.

By degrees affairs in the Morea began to assume their former aspect; the restoration of tranquillity and the proclamation of amnesty brought back numbers of those families who had fled to the Ionian Islands or the Asiatic continent; agriculture gradually revived; commerce was restored; and education began afresh to diffuse its blessings throughout the Peninsula. A few of those whom unsubdued patriotism, or a prominent interference in the late insurrection, had rendered obnoxious to the Turks, hesitated to comply with their invi-

tation, and return to habits of industry and peace. They continued to hover about the islands and the coast, or betook themselves to warfare and brigandage amongst the hills; and whilst in the lowlands the spread of intelligence was enlightening and civilizing the mass of the people, these resistant spirits served to keep alive the latent spark of freedom, which some future occasion was to kindle into an universal and resistless blaze.

A.D.
1779.

In the mean time an individual was rapidly rising into importance, whose name and whose exploits are inseparably connected with the affairs of Modern Greece—Ali Pacha, the celebrated Vizier of Epirus. This renowned barbarian was born about the year 1745,* at Tepeleni, a small village on the banks of the Aoÿss, or Voïoussa, near the spot where it issues from the gorges of Klissura. His fa-

* The exact year of Ali's birth cannot now be ascertained, and his own information misled those who relied on it, as he was always anxious to represent himself much younger than he really was. M. Pouqueville, his most elaborate biographer, states it to be 1740, (v. i. p. 3.) in which he is followed by Dr. Holland, (c. vi. p. 103.) and Mr. Hughes, (v. ii. c. v. p. 100.) An anonymous English author, who seems chiefly indebted for his information to Pouqueville, states the date of his birth to be 1750, (Life of Ali Pacha, c. ii. p. 23. Lond. 8vo. 1823.) and a writer in the *Biographie des Contemporains* mentions it as 1744.

A.D. 1779. mily, whose name was Issas, or Jesus, an appellation still common in the East, came originally from Asia Minor with the hosts of Bajazet Ilderim;* and his grandfather, Mouctar, was one of those who fell at the siege of Corfu, by Dianun Cogia, in 1716.† He left three sons, of whom the youngest, Veli, after exercising for some years the profession of a bandit in the mountains of Albania, returned to Tepelehi, murdered his elder brothers, seized upon the property of the family, and became the first Aga of his native village. He subsequently married a daughter of the Bey of Conitza, by whom he had two children, Ali, the future lord of Joannina, and his sister Chaïnitza;‡ and, after a life of crime and debauchery, he expired, whilst his offspring were still in their infancy. Khamco, his widow, a woman of singular energy, was shortly after his decease despoiled of her possessions by the inhabitants of Tchormovo and Gardiki, and with her daughter carried off into captivity to the latter, a village among the hills of Liaburia.

* According to Pouquéville they were Albanians by descent; the story of their Asiatic origin is that of Ali himself.

† Fauriel, p. 9.

‡ Besides these, he had likewise two sons and a daughter by a slave, who with their mother fell victims to the jealousy of Khamco. Dr. Holland, p. 104. Dufey, c. ii. p. 26.

After suffering all the horrors of violation and the miseries of servitude, they were at length ransomed by the generosity of a merchant of Argyrocastro,* and restored to liberty and their home. The remembrance of these outrages gave, from the earliest period, a tone of ferocity to the feelings and disposition of her children, into whose minds she instilled the fiercest principles of violence and revenge. Ali, from the age of fourteen, was associated with robbers and banditti; and long ere he had attained maturity, was distinguished as the boldest rider, the surest marksman, and the swiftest runner of his clan. His habits were those of toil, privation, and endurance, and his only resources for subsistence were derived from predatory adventures amidst the passes of Pindus. Detection, however, and a long confinement at Berat, where he owed his life solely to the personal kindness of Courd Pacha, a distant kinsman of his mother, served, in some degree, to detach him from his lawless habits; he returned to Tepeleni, attached himself to the parties of the Beys, and, rising gradually into importance by his military talents, he obtained in marriage Emineh, the gentle daughter of Capelan the Tiger, the Pacha of Del-

A.D.
1779.

* By a Bey of the family of Dost, according to Mr. Hughes, (v. ii. c. v. p. 108.)

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1779.

vino.* This occurrence took place about the period when Stephen the Little was fomenting the insurrection of the Montenegrins ; and Capelan having at the suggestion of Ali held back his forces from joining the general levy ordered to march against him, he was secretly denounced to the Porte by his adviser, and beheaded at Monastir. Ali, however, failed in his hopes of succeeding to the government of his father-in-law, which was conferred on Ali, Bey of Argyrocastro, who subsequently married Chaïnitza, the sister of the traitor.

After this disappointment, he turned his attention towards home, and resolved on attempting the subjection of Tepeleni. Here he had numerous and powerful adversaries, but by one master-stroke of barbarous policy he freed himself for ever from their machinations, and achieved the object of his ambition. He had been accustomed, after the heat of the chase, to enjoy a cool siesta in the forest of Bentcha, in the vicinity of the village. By means of an attached partisan, he induced his enemies to attempt his assassination on one of those occasions ; and having himself given the plan of the adventure, he retired to the wood, flung his capote over the body of a goat, corded and

* Dr. Holland states erroneously that he married a daughter of Courd, Pacha of Berat, p. 106.

muzzled, and secured to the ground, and retired in safety to his house, whilst the unfortunate animal was dispatched by a shower of bullets from the pistols of Ali's supposed assassins. The appearance of a party of his retainers at the instant compelled them to retire without examining the body; and in the evening, whilst drowned in debauchery and wine, they were assailed and slaughtered by his followers; their goods and houses were confiscated to his soldiers, and from that hour Ali became absolute in Tepeleni.* He now employed every engine of intrigue and tyranny to establish and extend his power; his soldiers he attached to him by gold, by promises, and by companionship; and his people he conciliated by an anxiously assumed display of justice and impartiality. Every step, however, in his higher walks of ambition was based upon the blackest crimes; in the hope of succeeding to the pachalic of Argyrocastro he induced his sister Chaïnitza to unite with him in murdering her husband, and when, contrary to his calculations, the office was conferred on another, Selim Coka, he denounced him to the Porte as a traitor, and stabbed him with his own hand, in pursuance of the Sultan's firman.

A.D.
1779.

* Pouqueville, v. i. p. 29.

A.D.
1787. For this service he was rewarded with the pachalic of Triccala, in Thessaly,* and subsequently advanced to the office of Dervendji Bachi.

From this appointment Ali dates his first firm advancement towards power and fortune. Under the pretext of ridding the passes of robbers, he attached around him an army of followers whose influence became paramount in Northern Greece, and whose expeditions quickly restored tranquillity to Thessaly. Justly conceiving that the Greeks were not the only brigands in his dominions, he was careful to let the disorderly Ottomans share an equal portion of his retributive hostility; and by taking into his pay those of the Klefts and Armatoli who were willing to serve against the Infidels, he succeeded in attaching to himself the leaders of both parties. The Porte, though sometimes alarmed for his power, were never able to deprive him of it; and Ali had always in readiness some complaint against robbers, some encomium of his services, or some petition for their continuance, on every occasion when the question of his deposition was agitated at Constantinople.† In a short time, so successful had been his expeditions, and so

* Hughes, p. 105.

† Leake's Outline, &c. p. 32. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 49.

prodigious his wealth, that he was enabled to purchase, in addition to his Thessalian honours, the government of Joannina, which rendered him at once undisputed master of Epirus. In this, as in the attainment of his other objects, his favourite agents, gold, poison, and deceit, were again successful. By false representations of his patriotic intentions towards Greece, he induced the chiefs of the Ætolian Klefts, Palæopoulo, Canavos, and Boukavallos, to second his designs; and whilst these, by his directions, made frequent and devastating incursions into the territory of Joannina, each ruinous event was reported to the Divan with bitter complaints against the imbecility of the Pacha; and Epirus and Arta were represented as a desert, whilst Thessaly was flourishing under the auspices of Ali. The next step was, naturally, to point out the secret author of these disturbances as the only individual capable of quelling them. In this particular crisis, Calo Pacha, who had for fifteen years been governor of Joannina, expired most unexpectedly. Ali, the only aspirant to his office who had anticipated his decease,* was already prepared with the firman of his own nomination to the vacant pachalic; and whilst the Beys of the city were plotting to prevent his entering Joan-

A.D.
1788.

* He had caused him to be poisoned.

A.D.
1788. nina, the Cadi had already acknowledged and promulgated the sacred document.*

Khamco did not survive to witness this distinguished fortune of her favourite son; she expired whilst the intrigues for his investiture were still in progress. Ali was not present to receive her last wishes, but they were conveyed to him in her will, which even in her expiring moments still breathed fury and revenge; it conjured him to immolate to her manes the wretches of Tchormovo and Gardiki, from whom she had endured the horrors of violation and slavery; and Ali and Chäinitza swore above the still warm corpse of their mother that their vengeance should end only with the extermination of her enemies.†

One of his earliest cares, on finding himself firmly established in Epirus by the ruin of the Beys, was the partial accomplishment of this filial vow. Veiling his designs under the most cautious pretences, he advanced upon Tchormovo; and whilst his lieutenant, Demir Dost, deluded the devoted inhabitants by the hopes of an amnesty and peace, he burst unexpectedly into the village and butchered without discrimination every wretch who had failed in

* Hughes, p. 117. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 57. Dufey, v. i. p. 42. Dr. Holland, c. vi. p. 106. Hobhouse, v. i. c. xi. p. 115.

† Hughes, p. 113.

escaping by flight. The individual who had been the immediate agent of Khamco's dishonour was amongst the first objects of his vengeance; his execution was superintended by Youseph the Arab, who caused him to be impaled upon an iron spit, and slowly roasted between two vessels of burning coals. This exploit was the first in which the two sons of Ali by Emineh, Mouctar and Veli, fleshed their swords, and its success was celebrated by dances, feasting, games, and all the pageants of barbaric triumph. The booty of the immolated villagers was distributed to the soldiery; the very doors and tiles of the houses of Tchormovo were carried off by the conquerors ere they consigned their ruined walls to the flames; and Ali, in addition to the gratification of his ferocious revenge, added to his dominions by the expedition the canton of Conitza, a part of Premeti, the valley of Karamouratadez, and the town of Liboóvo.* Ibrahim, Pacha of Berat, son-in-law and successor to Courd, whom I have before mentioned, could not regard without irritation this invasion of districts which were submitted to his jurisdiction. He made a faint show of resistance; Ali opposed a body of Grecian Klefts to his Mahomedan forces, and Ibrahim

A.D.
1788.

* Hughes, v. ii. p. 114. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 61.

A.D.
1788.

sued for peace. The negotiation was conducted by Emineh, and ended by Ali retaining possession of his conquests under the title of a portion for the daughter of Ibrahim, who was shortly after married to Mouctar, the eldest son of the satrap.

Ali had now attained that pitch of power which is at once the most resistless stimulant and the most efficient agent of ambition. To a profound acquaintance with the popular feeling and force of European Turkey, he added the most accurate knowledge not only of the constitution and domestic government of the empire, but of its political relations with foreign states. He found himself seated in the midst of a multiplicity of petty dynasties whose dependency on the Porte amounted to little more than an acknowledgment of supremacy by the payment of an annual tribute; and he himself possessed, besides a formidable armed force, an influence throughout the extent of Northern Greece, not only superior to the proudest of his rivals, but such as to cause an occasional uneasiness to the Divan.* This,

* " Tantôt à la faveur d'un titre obtenu de la Porte, tantôt par la guerre, tantôt par l'empoisonnement et le meurtre, il s'empara d'une moitié de la Macédoine, de la plus grande partie de la Livadie, du Xeromeros ou Acarnanie, et le la province d'Arta, et de Prevesa. Visir de Jannina et de

however, he had always been enabled to allay by timely obsequiousness, by efficient services, or by gold. In a country where every office of government is attainable by bribery and corruption, the subordinate agents must generally be individuals almost unknown to the higher authorities,* who interest themselves in their nomination no farther than by negotiating the sale of their appointments; and this ignorance, especially as regards the remoter provinces, is perpetuated by the want of any regular channel of communication between the people and their rulers. It was no difficult

A.D.
1788.

Triccala, fermier du Capitan Pacha dans l'Acarnanie, et de la Sultane Validé dans Artá, prévôt des routes dans la Livadie, et dans la Macédoine, partout, propriétaire d'un grand nombre de fiefs ou de domaines, la longue durée de son pouvoir le rendit presque uniformément maître absolu des hommes et du sol; il avait une armée de dix ou douze mille Albanais, un trésor considérable, ses concussions et ses vols. Cela lui suffisait pour tenir sous le joug une population de près de deux millions d'hommes, Grecs, Albanais, et Turcs." —Villemain, p. 241.

* The authors of the *Γεωγραφία Νεωτερική*, compiled by two monks of Mount Pelion, and published at Vienna in 1791, in speaking of the Sultan's ignorance of the state of his dominions, says, "Ἄν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤθελε εἶναι κοινωνικὸς μὲ τὸν καθένα, ἤθελε βεβαία καταλάβῃ τὴν ζημίαν καὶ ἤθελε ἐπιφέρει καίμμη διόρθωσι, μὰ δι' αὐτὸν Κόσμος εἶναι ἡ βασιλεύουσα καὶ βασίλειο τὰ παλάτιον."—See Leake's *Researches*, p. 179.

A.D.
1796.

task, therefore, for Ali to prevent the transmission of any statements to Constantineple, save those which would tend to raise him in the estimation of the Divan; the possibility of complaint was anticipated by the hired praises of his partisans, and the wealth amassed amidst execrations at home was lavished on the purchase of insidious eulogies abroad. He was known to the Ottoman court only as a soldier of undaunted bravery, and a chieftain, whose energy and forces, though somewhat suspicious, had rendered important services to the state. By the surrounding Pachas he was regarded at once with fear and admiration; they were in every point of view his inferiors, both in power and talent; and he never failed to extract equal advantages from their friendship and hostility, the latter affording him ample pretexts for the enlarging of his territories, and the former valuable assistance in their protection.

No one of the many circumstances favourable to his ambitious policy escaped his keen and prying observation; his agents were everywhere, and his information on every topic connected with his interests was constant and correct. With an unerring perception of character, his manner was accurately suited to the exigencies of every situation; every tone of expression was assumed, and varied, and

abandoned, as suited the emergency of the moment; and even those who suspected the professions of the Vizier seldom failed to be seduced into acquiescence by his politic and wily address. His present alliance with Ibrahim Pacha, so far from being designed as a permanent pacification, was intended only as the pretext for farther aggressions. Middle Albania, from its richness and fertility, as well as its proximity to Joannina, was his most natural and desirable conquest; his residence at Tepeleni had made him intimately acquainted with all its localities, and he was anxious to deprive the independent Beys of Epirus of that support and protection which they always enjoyed under the Pachas of Berat. To have attempted its reduction at once by open force would have exposed him to the resentment of the Porte, and he long strove, but in vain, to provoke Ibrahim to a quarrel, which might have legitimized his aggressions; his reiterated injuries were, however, received without retaliation, and, foiled in every attempt, he was at last compelled to strike the first blow without any political plea for his proceedings. His pretext was to avenge the death of Sephir, Bey of Avlona, brother to the governor of Berat, whom Ali had himself caused to be poisoned, and whose death he had the

A.D.
1788.

A.D. audacity to attribute to Ibrahim. The Pacha, **1788.** alarmed by the extent of his preparations and the terror of his name, invited to his assistance the Greeks of Thesprotia and Chamouri, who readily espoused his cause; and the Suliots, in particular, took up arms at once against the tyrant of Joannina.

A.D. The latter people, who seemed in modern **1789.** times to have inherited the genius of the ancient Spartans, were the descendants of a band of Albanian Christians, whom the oppression of the Turks had driven about a century before to seek an asylum in the mountains of Chamouri.* They established themselves on the

* The similarity of the names has induced some admirers of Suli to assert its identity with the Selloi of Homer, (Il. xvi. v. 234.) and the Sollium of Thucydides, (l. iii. c. 95.) Perevos, a Greek, who published at Venice, in 1815, a History of Suli and Parga, (*Ιστορία Σουλίου και Πάργας*, 2 vols. 12mo.) has taken some pains to establish the distinct origin of the modern colony, asserting that the people referred to by Homer were Thessalians, and identical with the modern village of *Sello*, at the base of Olympus, between Alassona and Vlacholivadi, (v. i. c. i. p. 10.) and that the passage of Thucydides, indicating a maritime town, cannot apply to the modern Suli, which is seated far inland on the summit of a mountain. The line quoted from the Iliad refers evidently to a people at least in the vicinity of the modern Suliots; but on the sentence in Thucydides, the author has wasted much argument, which might have been saved by a farther examination of his author, who in two other passages (l. ii. c. 30. l. v. c. 30.) distinctly

summit of the lofty cliffs that rise above the bed of the Acheron; and here, in a fortress impregnable by nature, and accessible only by tortuous and precipitous passages,* they

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designates Sollion a town of Acarnania, whilst the modern settlement is in Epirus. The work of Perevos and some passages in the Survey of Mr. Eton, are almost the only original and authentic documents which we possess on the subject of this interesting and singular people; and M. Pouqueville, though he has added a few new facts, has been chiefly indebted to the former for his voluminous information respecting the wars of the Suliots.

* The position and natural defences of Suli are well described by Mr. Hughes. "Their abode was like the dwelling of a race of genii, upon a kind of natural citadel, amidst the wild Cassopœan mountains, where the Acheron rolls down a dark and truly infernal chasm, overhung with rocks and woods of deepest gloom. The high peaks of precipices bounding this mysterious glen were surmounted by fortified towers, whilst the paths leading to the impending heights above scarcely admitted two persons to walk abreast. During the worst eras of Grecian slavery, the flame burned bright upon this hill-altar of liberty; and its worshippers, breathing a purer air, and excited, as it were, by those stupendous energies of nature which they constantly had in view, preserved their physical and moral strength unimpaired, not only defying tyranny, but pouring down from their rocky fastnesses over the plains of the oppressor, and carrying off that booty which was considered their lawful property. * * * *

* * Four large villages constituted the principal seats of this independent clan, in a situation so singular as probably to be unique. They lay upon a fine concave plain at the perpendicular height of about 2000 feet above the bed of the

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founded, in a few years, the four villages of Suli, Gkiafa, Avarico, and Samoniva, whence their community subsequently extended over upwards of seventy hamlets in the adjoining

Acheron; a grand natural breast-work descended precipitously to the river; whilst behind them rose a towering chain of mountains, at once an ornament and defence. The Acheron, after passing through the valley of Dervitziana, first enters the Suliot chasm where it is called the Gorge of Skouitias, from a small village of that name; a narrow path, which winds amidst the darkest woods upon the right bank, conducts the traveller in about two hours to a narrow cut across his path, called Klissura, admirably calculated to stop the progress of an enemy. This defile was commanded by a fort called Tichos, and near it was the first village of the Suliot republic, called Navarico, or Avarico. From hence a gradual ascent leads to the deserted site of Samoniva; thence to Kiaffa, signifying a height, and lastly to Suli, the capital of the tribe, which was generally styled Kako-Suli, like the *Κακοίλιον* of Homer, from the difficulties it opposed to a conqueror. Near the spot where the mountain path leaves the side of the Acheron, to wind up the precipices between Kiaffa and Kako-Suli, a conical hill overhangs the road, called Kunghi, on which stood the largest of the Suliot fortresses, named Aghia Paraskevi, or Saint Friday. At the same spot another small river, flowing from the Paramithian mountains, joins the Acheron, which, descending down the romantic defile of Glyki, enters the great Paramithian plain, and empties itself, after flowing through the Acherusian lake, into the Ionian sea, near the ancient city of Cichyrus, or Ephyre."—Hughes' Travels, v. ii. pp. 122, 123.

districts.* Its united population, at the period of the first war with Ali Pacha, was estimated at upwards of 7000; and of these the number who appeared in arms amounted to 1000 of the descendants of the original colonists, and 1500 of those who had subsequently fled to them for protection.† The families of the entire confederacy were divided into numerous clans or *Pharæ*, submitted to their peculiar chieftains, whose united voices formed in time of war the council of the people. They were likewise the sole legislators of the little state, which possessed neither tribunals nor written laws, but submitted its complaints to the decision of its *Capetani*. Debarred by their natural position and political circumstances from the exercise of commerce, and attached

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* Of these, seven, denominated the *Hephtachorion* to distinguish them from the *Tetrachorion*, or four principal villages, were colonized by *Suliots*, the original inhabitants being, at their own request, transferred to the mountain of *Suli*; thirty-three were wrested from the *Agas* of *Margariti*, and a like number from those of *Paramythia*, and *Joannina*. *Perevos*, v. i. c. iv. pp. 32, 36. *Fauriel*, vi. p. 228.

† *Perevos*, v. i. c. 4. p. 34. *Fauriel*, v. i. p. 228. *Pouqueville*, *Voyage*, &c. v. ii. l. v. c. ii. n. p. 227. *Eton* says, with the alliance of the *Chimariots* they could bring 20,000 men into the field, (p. 389.) and *Dr. Holland* estimates their utmost force, in their wars with *Ali*, at 12,000. (p. 448.)

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to a barren soil, whose scanty produce was inadequate to their wants, the Suliots were compelled by necessity to subsist by violence and plunder, which they justified on the plea of merely snatching from their tyrants the produce of those lands which despotism had wrested from their fathers. It was too often, however, a matter of complaint that in these predatory excursions they neglected to discriminate between the persons of the Greeks and their masters, and that each was in turn a sufferer from their impartial visitations. They were acquainted with no trades or mechanical sciences, their sole study and occupation was that of arms and athletic exercises; and even their women were taught to share with their husbands the dangers and privations of war. On the approach of an enemy they were accustomed to evacuate their villages in the plains, and betake themselves, with their provisions and families, to the fortresses in the mountains. Here none were admitted save those who were distinguished for their valour; and the ordinary population were compelled to abide in the valleys, and provide stores and ammunition for their defenders above. The Suliot never parted from his arms; with his musket on his shoulder, his sabre by his side, and his dagger in his girdle,

he led his flocks to the hills, or knelt before the altar of his god; his laws, his education, his manners, and his religion, tended to the inculcation of the one powerful feeling of unbending courage; and his life was a perpetual turmoil of wars and expeditions, of defence or retaliation.*

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This martial community had already manifested their passion for freedom in eight successive wars, which they had maintained against the Pachas of Albania;† in the commotions of 1770 they had been the first to obey the summons of Pappas Oglou, and take up arms in the cause of liberty; and at the moment when they were solicited to join the standard of Ibrahim, of Berat, they were on the eve of a fresh revolt, on the second summons from the emissaries of Russia.

The disastrous issue of the first expedition to the Levant, and the progress of Russia after the peace of Karnardji, had by no means induced Catharine to relinquish her "oriental

* Perevos, c. iii. pp. 23, 26.; c. iv. p. 35. Fauriel, v. i. pp. 230, 235. Dr. Holland, p. 448. Villemain, p. 242. Pouqueville, Voyage, &c. v. ii. l. v. c. 2. p. 233.

† Of these no details or memorials have been preserved; a list of them, but without dates, is given in the fifth chapter of Perevos' History, and in the second volume of Bartholdy's Travels, p. 256.

A.D. 1789. project." It was one of those brilliant but undefined dreams that still haunted her moments of ambition. Potemkin, who had succeeded Orloff in the royal favour, was a strenuous advocate of these splendid views of his imperial mistress; and it was by his representations that Joseph II. of Austria, during his interview with the Empress at Mohilef, in 1780, was induced to unite in the same design.* Her grandson, Constantine, had from his infancy been regarded as the future monarch of Greece; his nurses were females from Naxos, his playmates youths from the islands, and his language and costume that of his destined subjects.† He was to have been the companion of the Czarina in her visit to Kherson, in 1788, but an illness with which he was seized when on the point of departure, detained him at St. Petersburg.‡ A triumphal arch, erected before one of the gates of Kherson during this celebrated progress, is said to have borne the

A.D. 1783.

* Rabbe, *Hist. de Russie*, p. 416. Segur, *Histoire des principaux événemens du regne de F. Guillaume de Prussie*, v. i. c. iii. pp. 92, 94. *Life of Catharine II.* v. iii. c. xv. p. 152. Coxe, *History of the House of Austria*, v. ii. p. 555.

† Castera, v. iii. c. xi. p. 1. *Life of Catharine II.* v. iii. c. xv. p. 148. Pouqueville, v. i. c. iii. p. 73.

‡ Segur, v. i. c. iii. p. 88. *Life of Catharine II.* v. iii. c. xv. pp. 148, 151. Castera, v. iii. c. xi. p. 1. Rabbe, p. 424. Coxe, v. ii. p. 611.

inscription, "By this the way leads to Byzantium;" and the incidents of this expedition, coupled with numerous other indications of the intentions of Catharine, tended materially to hasten the rupture, which was fast approaching, between Russia and the Porte.

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The seizure of the Crimea by the Empress, in 1783, had been regarded by the Divan with serious apprehension; but they found themselves at the moment unable to oppose it. Their subsequent discontent was sedulously fanned by the agents of Prussia and England, the former from motives of personal dislike to the Czarina, the latter from irritation at the treaty of commerce which she had lately signed with France.* They represented the visit of Catharine to the Crimea as a bravado to insult the weakness of the Sultan; they pointed out the injustice of Catharine continuing, contrary to existing treaties, to protect Maurocordato, the fugitive Hospodar of Moldavia, who had been suspected of treasonable communications with the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg; and they dwelt with emphasis on her alleged transgression of the convention of Constantinople, in 1784. Potemkin and the Grand Vizir Codza Yous-

* Rabbe, p. 428.

A.D. 1789. seph Pacha are said to have been equally anxious for the commencement of hostilities, the one through the hope of military distinction, the other to get rid of two dangerous rivals near the throne of the Sultan;* and, contrary to the immediate wishes of both sovereigns, war was suddenly proclaimed by the Porte, on the 18th of August, 1787.†

A.D. 1787. The first successes of the Empress against the armies of the Sultan, her unexpected rupture with Sweden, and her reliance on the support of Austria, who had, early in 1788, declared hostilities against the Porte,‡ served for some time to distract her attention from the affairs of Greece: when, however, she found herself about to be involved in the sole weight of the war, by the relaxation and subsequent death of Joseph II.§ she at length bethought herself seriously of this expectant and enthusiastic ally. She had already, in 1788, prepared a fleet for the Mediterranean, which

* Rizo, in his *History of Modern Greece*, has given a curious account of this intrigue on the part of the Turkish minister, (p. ii. c. 2. p. 99.) and the wishes of Potemkin are explicitly stated by Rabbe (p. 429) Castera, and Tooke.

† *Life of Catharine II.* c. iii. c. xv. p. 165. Castera, v. ii. c. xi. p. 22. Rizo, p. 105. *Annual Register*, 1788, c. i. pp. 4, 6.

‡ February 10, 1788. *Annual Register*, 1788, pp. 25, 31. Coxe, v. ii. p. 614.

§ February 10, 1790.

had been long detained in the Northern seas by the difficulties of equipment, the prohibition of British seamen from entering into her service, and the delays consequent on the quarrel of the Empress with the Swedish monarch.* Psaro, the Myconiot, who in the last expedition had commanded the Eastern Legion of Sparta, was sent to Sicily to prepare stores and magazines for this squadron on its arrival; and he was likewise furnished with the requisite funds, and directed to co-operate with Sotiri, one of the primates of Vostizza, who had been dispatched into Epirus and Albania for the purpose of arousing his countrymen. This district had been decided upon as the most promising, in consequence of the timidity with which the Moreots, who were still smarting from their late defeat, were disposed to regard a fresh attempt at insurrection. Sotiri had, however, been received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants of Suli and Chamouri. The fortresses of the Acheron became instantly the centre of a new conspiracy; their already armed warriors were convened into a willing league against the Ottomans; and a voluntary subscription was entered into, as well by the native as the European Greeks, for the equipment of a squadron to co-operate with the

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* Eton, p. 353.

A.D. 1789. expected fleet of the Czarina. A division of twelve small vessels was prepared in the various ports of the Mediterranean, and their united command entrusted to Lambro Canziani, who commenced his cruise in the Archipelago, in April 1790.*

A.D. 1790. Ali, apprized of the hostile preparations of the Suliots, in conjunction with his rival, (Ibrahim of Berat,) dispatched with promptitude an army of 3000 men against them. They found, as usual, the villages of the plain deserted, the fortresses and towers of the Acheron provisioned and garrisoned, and the whole force of the warlike community prepared for defence. Not daring to attack them in their intrenchments, his troops dispersed themselves over the adjacent country, plundering in every direction the territory of the Suliots; till the latter, exasperated at their atrocities, descended from their fastness, defeated and dispersed his army, and pursued them as far as Joannina, laying waste the lands and burning the mosques of the Mahometans.†

* Eton, p. 354. Annual Register, 1791, p. 92. Rizo, pp. 114, 116. Fauriel, v. i. p. 237. Villemain, p. 247. Rabbe, p. 672.

† Perevos, v. i. c. v. p. 38. Pouqueville, v. i. c. iii. p. 80. Fauriel, v. i. p. 234. Rizo, p. 114. Annual Register, 1791, p. 92. Eton, p. 345. It has been added that a son of Ali was slain in this action, whose armour was subsequently presented to Catharine II. Rizo has repeated this story, which

In the mean time the Greeks had found ample reason for complaint against the conduct of Psaro, and the other agents of the Empress, with whom they were in communication. The sums destined for their service were alleged to be embezzled by the Myconiot, and even the arms and ammunition requisite for the war in which they found themselves involved, were withheld by its instigators. A deputation was in consequence dispatched from Suli to St. Petersburg, to complain of their grievances; and in April 1790, they presented a memorial to the Empress, in which they reprobated in the most indignant terms the proceedings of Psaro, and the ruinous consequences which his villainy was likely to entail upon their countrymen. They came, they said, not to solicit the treasures of the Czarina, but to beg for powder and for balls, and to be led to battle; they came to lay the crown of their ancient kingdom at her feet, and to entreat her to confer on them a sovereign, since the race of their own monarchs

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April.

appears first in Eton; but the death of such a son is not mentioned by any of the biographers of the Pacha; and M. Dufey seems to have given the true version of the fact, when he states that Mouctar *lost his splendid accoutrements in the defeat*: “Son fils Mouctar perdit sur le champ de bataille sa riche armure, qui orna les trophées des vainqueurs.”—*Régénération*, &c. c. v. p. 55.

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was no more.* Their reception by Catharine was gracious in the extreme; she acceded to every request, and promised prompt and efficient assistance. They were conducted by her directions to the apartments of Constantine, whom they saluted as the "King of the Greeks;" and being furnished with funds by the Empress, they were dispatched to confer with Potemkin, in Moldavia, whence they returned to Greece, accompanied by Tamara, the Ukranian, who had been entrusted with the superintendence of their plans.†

The proceedings of Lambro Canziani, in the interim, had been so vigorous as to excite considerable alarm to the Divan, and a portion of the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea was ordered to the Mediterranean to oppose him. His little squadron had been speedily joined on its first appearance by numerous small vessels, which mounted, by permission, the Russian

* Οὐκ αἰτήσαμεν ποτὲ καὶ οὐκ αἰτοῦμεν τοὺς σοῦς θησαυροὺς, οὐκ αἰτήσαμεν εἰμὴ πύριον κόνιν καὶ σιδήριους σφέρας, καὶ ἐν σῇ δαγγεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν μάχην. . . . Νεῦσον οὖν Κυρία δίδουαι ἡμῖν σὸν ἔγγονον Κωνσταντῖνον διὰ ἀνακτα ἡμῶν, τοῦτο μόνον τὸ γένος ὅλον ἡμῶν αἰτεῖ δεόμενον (γένος γὰρ τῶν ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων ἀποσβεσθῇ) καὶ ἔσται ὡς τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ. The original will be found in Eton, p. 344.

† Eton, pp. 356, 367. Annual Register, 1791, pp. 94, 228. Villemain, p. 247.

flag, and its success had been at first brilliant beyond all expectation. After several hazardous descents on the Asiatic coasts, and some triumphant actions with Turkish vessels, Lambro had attacked and taken possession of the Island of Zea, and established his head-quarters at the principal town, where he had even raised some forts and batteries, and stationed a strong garrison of Albanians. In the original plan of the campaign, as drawn up by the Suliots, it had been designed, that on the arrival of the stores promised by Russia, the national army was to be formed into two divisions, one of which was to advance upon Macedonia and Thessaly, whilst the other, after penetrating Livadia, and being joined by the Moreots, was to unite with the forces of Lambro at Negropont, and thence proceed North to the siege of Salonika.* This design was, however, unfortunately abandoned, in consequence of the total defeat and destruction of the Greek squadron on the 18th of May, 1790. Lambro had been attacked by seven Algerine corsairs, who had united with the Turkish vessels; his ships were overpowered by the numbers and superior weight of metal of his adversaries, and after a desperate defence, he escaped, with a few followers, in an open boat, his entire arma-

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1790.

May
18.

* Eton, p. 366.

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1790. ment being sunk by the skilful fire of the corsairs. In this emergency, he was refused all assistance by the Russian agents, and at his own expense he fitted out a single ship, in which he again put to sea, still thirsting for freedom and revenge. So base, however, were the emissaries of Catharine, that they permitted him to be arrested for the debts he had thus incurred; but by a second subscription at Trieste and Venice, he was once more set at liberty, and returned to the Archipelago. Here his career was but brief; his force was too insignificant to be capable of any important exploit, and he was totally abandoned by his ungenerous allies. Even after a peace had been signed between the Empress and the Turks, he continued to infest the *Ægean* as a naval knight-errant, disclaimed by Russia and pursued by the Porte, till, in 1793, his vessel was destroyed, and he was compelled to fly for protection to the mountains of Albania, whence he subsequently retired to St. Petersburg, and, according to Eton, obtained military rank in the service of the Czarina.*

* Annual Register, 1791, p. 93. Rizo, pp. 114, 116. Life of Catharine II. v. iii. p. 293. Lambro Canziani has been extravagantly lauded by Eton, (pp. 354, 368, 369.) and as extravagantly abused by Thornton, (v. ii. p. 77.) A little moderation might reconcile the two statements. That

However sincere might have been the professions of Catharine to the Suliot deputies in 1790, her exertions in their behalf never extended beyond mere promises; every circumstance after that period seemed tending towards a peace with the Porte, and though the Greeks were desired to hold themselves in readiness to march towards the North, their services were never called for. Leopold II. who had succeeded to the crown of Austria on the decease of Joseph, was, from the moment of his accession, averse from a continuance of the war;* and England and Prussia had likewise become anxious for the pacification of

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he had a keen impatience of tyranny, and a strong passion for freedom, there can be no doubt; but still these will not of themselves form the perfect *patriot* of Mr. Eton, any more than his interruption of the trade of Turkey entitle Mr. Thornton to denominate him unqualifiedly a *pirate*. Owing to his education, and the natural habits of his countrymen, there is every reason to suppose that his perceptions of the rights of individuals was somewhat confused; but at the same time it must be admitted, that the laws of war gave a countenance to his proceedings in the Levant; and that, although he was disclaimed by *Russia*, at the peace of Yassi, in 1792, *his* countrymen had by no means consented to lay down arms simultaneously with Catharine, and were, in fact, in a state of actual hostility against the Turks for many years afterwards.

* Coxe, v. ii. p. 668. He made peace with the Sultan at Sistovia, in 1791.

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the East. The Porte, alarmed by the successive losses of Koczim, Otchakof, Bender, and Ismail, was well disposed to come to terms; the convention of Reichenbach led the way to an accommodation, and a peace was finally concluded at Yassi, in Moldavia, on the 9th of January, 1792.*

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Jan.
9th.

In this treaty, the stipulations of Russia, in 1774, in favour of the Greeks, Wallachians; and Moldavians, were renewed; and others were added which guaranteed still more effectually their religion and public safety.† Russian consuls were established in every maritime town of importance; and every Greek who bore the necessary berath, or hoisted the Muscovite flag at his mast, was to be considered as a subject of the Czarina.‡ Turkey, without hesitation, admitted this right of protection on the part of Russia, which has been since recognized in every similar treaty between the two

* Coxe, v. ii. p. 670. Eton, pp. 367, 369. Rizo, p. 124. Life of Catharine II. v. iii. p. 292. See the Treaty in Martens' Recueil, &c. v. 5. p. 67. Rabbe, pp. 431, 436.

† A second treaty between Russia and the Porte, in 1779, had already confirmed and extended the stipulations contained in that of Kainardji. See Martens, v. iii. p. 349.

‡ " — Pour être regardé comme sujet Russe, il suffisait à un Chrétien de mettre un chapeau sur sa tête, une patente dans sa porte-feuille, et un pavillon Russe à son bâtiment." —Rizo, p. 126. Pouqueville, Voy. v. vi. l. xx. c. v. p. 306.

powers. The circumstances of this second attempt of the Empress to excite the Greeks to rebellion, attest sufficiently the insincerity of her professed enthusiasm in favour of their country. The design of arming them against the Sultan, was merely a portion of her scheme for the conquest of Constantinople; it was a splendid veil cast over her projects of ambition, which, by giving them the air of a crusade in favour of religion and humanity, seemed in some slight degree to ensure, if not the concurrence, at least the neutrality of Europe.* In the present instance, the plans of the Greeks had been concerted and arranged with infinitely more talent and better prospects of success than in the insurrection of 1770. Their execution, likewise, was in the hands of men who had already ascertained their own strength, and who knew by experience the weakness of their enemies. Had Catharine employed their assistance in the early period of the war, whilst she was firmly supported by her Austrian allies; whilst her armies were everywhere victorious on the Danube, and Ouchakoff and the Prince of Nassau-Siegen were destroying the Ottoman navy in the Black Sea; the diversion which they would have created in the West, both by sea and land, must have proved highly prejudi-

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1792.

* Rabbe, *Histoire de Russie*, p. 673.

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1792. cial to Turkey. But, on the contrary, their services were not thought of till it was too late to render them available; and, after being committed with their tyrants, and actually in arms against them, they were a second time abandoned to the protection of a treaty, as soon as the expediency of Russia required an accommodation with the Porte. The right of interference claimed and conceded to the Empress, though doubtless a positive benefit to the Greeks, was equally important to the policy of Russia; it tended to preserve the consistency of their professions towards Greece; it was a bond which would perpetuate the intimate relation already existing between the co-religionists, and which was at the same time of so delicate a nature, as regarded its observance, that it could never fail to offer some pretext for quarrel as soon as it again suited the court of St. Petersburg to attempt the accomplishment of its favourite "oriental project."

The Suliots, after their victory over Ali Pacha, in 1790, had continued from time to time their armed incursions into the neighbouring pachalics, where their depredations were equally destructive to the Greeks and the Osmanlis. The chiefs of the Armatolics had in consequence become their avowed opponents, and Palæopoulo and his companions seconded

every project of the Turks for their overthrow.* Ali, aware that his despotism could never be secure as long as they were left to enjoy their independence, had resolved at all costs to attempt their extermination; he accordingly concluded a hasty peace with Ibrahim of Berat,† summoned his Christian allies to his aid, and on the 1st of July, 1792, departed from Joannina with an army of from 8 to 10,000 men.‡ In the hope of weakening the

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1792.

July
1st.

* Eton, p. 371. Pouqueville, v. i. pp. 83, 90. Dufey, v. i. p. 71. Ali, unwilling to confide implicitly on the faith of the Greeks, consented to receive only a portion of their forces into his pay; the remainder he prevailed upon to observe an armed neutrality.

† At the same time he succeeded in negotiating a marriage between his son Veli, and the second daughter of Ibrahim.

‡ An undue importance has been attached to these skirmishes of Ali Pacha with the Suliots in the works of Mr. Eton and Perevos, the latter of whom has copied his account of Ali's second attempt, in 1792, from the volume of the former. M. Pouqueville, in his detail of this campaign, relates likewise the particulars of a previous affair, to which he has, however, applied the date assigned by Eton to the *principal* action of 1792. Between Ali's first defeat in 1790, and his repulse in 1792, seventeen attacks are recorded by Eton as having been made by the Pacha on Suli without effect, (p. 371.) and the narrative of one of these, (perhaps the last,) is most probably that given by Pouqueville. This seems more likely still, from his own statement, the Suliots being, at the time he mentions, engaged in celebrating the

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1792. strength of the Suliots, by drawing off a portion of their forces from the protection of the mountains, he dissembled all intention of hostility against them, and assembled his army under the pretence of chastising the turbulent inhabitants of Argyrocastro, who had lately refused to receive a Bey whom he had sent them. He even wrote to the two principal chieftains of the Suliots, Bogia and Tzavellas, to extol their bravery and solicit their co-operation; the former was too prudent to avail himself of the offer, but Tzavellas, allured by the Pacha's gold, accepted his terms, and joined him with a band of seventy men.* Though disappointed in his grand object, Ali set out without delay for Argyrocastro; but ere he had proceeded thirty miles, the party of Tzavellas were disarmed by a stratagem, and sent prisoners to Joannina, with the exception of one, who escaped by his extreme swiftness and agility in leaping a torrent of frightful

festival of the *Ἡροσταντία*, which occurs in *spring*, whilst the expedition in question was in the middle of summer (20th July.) Pouqueville, p. 91. As he, however, relates in it some particulars which Eton and Perevos have attributed to the affair of July, there is still a difficulty in reconciling the two statements. (Eton, p. 386. Perevos, v. ii. c. v. p. 48.)

* Perevos, v. ii. c. v. p. 40.

depth, and flew to inform his countrymen of the approach of the treacherous enemy.* On the advance of the Pacha, he found all prepared to oppose him, and despairing of success by simple force, he had again recourse to stratagem. He ordered Tzavellas to be brought before him, and made him the most splendid offers in return for such information as should lead to the conquest of Suli; he promised to confer on him the office of commandant of Albania, in the event of his being put in possession of the fortresses by his means, and threatened, should he withhold the requisite information, to roast him alive upon the spot. Tzavellas replied, that as a single leader of his clan, and a prisoner, it was impossible to render the assistance he required; but, if he were permitted to return to his companions, he was ready to do all that was demanded of him. Ali acceded to his proposals, on the terms of leaving his son, a lad of twelve years of age, as a hostage for his fidelity; and Tzavellas, once more at liberty, returned eagerly to Suli. As soon, however, as he had reached a place of safety, he dispatched a letter to the Pacha. "I rejoice," said he, "that I have deceived a traitor, and that I am again in

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* Eton, p. 376. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 98. Fauriel, v. i. p. 239.

A.D. 1792. the field to defend my country against a miscreant: I know that my child must perish, but I feel that he will not die unrevenged. I shall, no doubt, be stigmatized as a merciless parent, who would secure his own safety by the sacrifice of his son; but I answer, that had you enslaved our mountains, not only he, but his kinsmen and race would have fallen, and no hand would have survived to avenge him: let us now be victorious, and I shall again have children, for my wife is still but young. If my son, boy though he be, is not prepared to suffer joyfully for his country, he deserves not to live in it; nor is he worthy the name of a Greek, if he cannot die gloriously. Come on, then, traitor! I long for revenge! TZAVELLAS.*

* “‘Αλῇ Πασᾷ, χαίρομαι ὅπου ἐγέλασα ἓνα δόλιον. Εἶμαι δὴ νὰ διαφαντεύσω τὴν πατρίδα μου ἐναντίον εἰς ἓνα κλέφτην. ὁ υἱός μου θέλει ἀποθάνει, ἐγὼ ὅμως ἀπελπιστως θέλει τὸν ἐκδικήσω πρὶν νὰ ἀποθάνω. Κἄποιοι Τούρκοι, καθὼς ἐς ἓνα θέλουν εἰποῦν, ὅτι εἶμαι ἄσπλαγγος πατέρας μὲ τὸ νὰ θυσιάσω τὸν υἱόν μου διὰ τὸν ἐδικόν μου λυτρωμόν· ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι ἂν ἐσὺ πάσης τὸ βουνόν, θέλεις σκοτώσει τὸν υἱόν μου μὲ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς φαμελίας μου, καὶ τοὺς συμπατριῶτας μου. Τότε δὲν θὰ ἠμπορέσω νὰ ἐκδικήσω τὸν θάνατόν του· ἀμὴ ἂν νικήσομεν θέλει ἔχω ἄλλα παιδιὰ· ἡ γωναιῖκά μου εἶναι νέα. Ἐὰν ὁ υἱός μου, νέος καθὼς εἶναι δὲν μένει εὐχαριστημένος νὰ θυσιασθῇ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα του, αὐτὸς δὲν εἶναι ἄξιος νὰ ζήσῃ, καὶ νὰ γνωρίζεται ὡς υἱός μου, μητε πρέπει νὰ ὀνομάζεται ἄξιος υἱός τῆς Ἑλλάδος

Smarting with rage and disappointment, Ali prepared for one simultaneous and vigorous attack; he summoned the choice of his army, promised a reward of five hundred piastres to every conqueror of Suli, and on the morning of the 20th of July, his forces proceeded to attack the passes which led to the mountain. Bogia, who held the chief command of the Suliots, after a feigned show of resistance, permitted the Albanians to advance as far as the third tower which protected the defile, when the signal was made for a general assault; 400 men, under the orders of the son of Bogia, burst upon the assailants from an ambuscade; Tzavellas, frantic with the supposed fate of his child, rushed upon them with all his followers; and Moseho, his wife, assisted by the women of the tribe, rolled

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πατρίδος μας, ἐὰν μὲ γενναιότητα δὲν ὑποφέρει τὸν θάνατον.
Προσχάρησαι λοιπὸν, ἄπιστε, εἰμαι ἀνυπόμονος νὰ ἐκδικηθῶ.

“ Ἐγὼ ὁ ὠμωσμένος ἐχθρὸς σου

“ Καπετὰν Λάμπρος Τζαβέλλας.”

Perevos, v. ii. c. v. p. 42. The boy was sent to Joannina by Ali, on the receipt of this letter; Veli, who commanded in his father's absence, having ordered him to be brought before him, told him that he only waited for the Pacha's orders to roast him alive. “I don't fear you,” said he, “my father will avenge me.” (Eton, p. 384.) He was liberated on the conclusion of the war, and subsequently acted a distinguished part in the political affairs of Greece.

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down from the heights huge piles of stones kept in readiness for the occasion. The slaughter was universal and complete; of 2000 men* who had penetrated the pass, 140 alone escaped with life; whilst the loss on the side of the Suliots was barely 100. Ali, who had witnessed the conflict from the summit of an adjoining hill, fled in dismay towards Joannina on beholding the destruction of his forces. To hide the shame of his return, he ordered every window to be closed as he entered the city, and for a fortnight he remained buried in the seclusion of his palace. Of his soldiers, those who escaped returned in straggling parties, broken down by fatigue and terror, whilst the Suliots, descending from their fortresses and uniting with the Greeks of Chamouri, pursued them to the suburbs of Joannina. Here they were met by the Bishop, who came, in the name of the Pacha, to sue for peace. It was concluded on the terms of Ali surrendering to Suli the entire extent of territory as far as Dervidjiani, six leagues from Joannina; restoring all captives; and paying for the Turkish prisoners a ransom of one hundred thousand piastres.† The arti-

* Eton, (p. 386.) says 4000, but his report is evidently exaggerated, as is most likely that of Perevos, which I have quoted. (v. i. c. v. p. 50.)

† Eton, pp. 384—389. Perevos, v. ii. c. v. Hughes'

cles of this treaty, as may be naturally expected, were not long observed by the Pacha; but the important events which subsequently took place in Turkey, prevented him for some years from making any fresh attempt to exterminate the Suliots.

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In the mean time the spread of intelligence and education was rapidly extending throughout every district of Greece. Previously to the war of 1770, her commerce had been grievously impeded by the restrictions to which I have alluded in a previous chapter.* The exportation of produce was monopolized by the government or the wealthy Turks, and the importation of foreign commodities restricted by exorbitant duties. The Greeks had no shipping save some fishing-boats, and small coasting craft: the Morea, Negropont, and Athens did not possess a single vessel; and only a few traders, of insignificant tonnage, were employed by some of the islanders in a confined.

Travels, v. iii. c. vi. pp. 130, 133. Dufey, v. i. c. vi. pp. 81, 89. Fauriel, v. i. pp. 240, 245.

* Vol. i. c. ix. pp. 303, 309. The nature of the Greek commerce, and the restraints imposed upon it at this period by the blinded policy of the Divan, will be found amply detailed in the very excellent work of M. Beaujour, to which I have before alluded. (*Commerce de la Grèce*, 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1799.) An English translation of it, by T. H. Horne, appeared in 1800, but is very incorrectly executed.

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traffic amongst the Cyclades. The treaty of Kainardji, followed by that of Yassi, in 1792, opened at once a new field to the enterprise of the Greeks. Availing themselves of the privilege of carrying the Russian flag, they ventured, for the first time, to pass the Dardanelles, and engage in the commerce of the Black Sea; and the towns of Odessa and Taiganroc were, in a few years, peopled by colonies of their speculating merchants. Three islands in particular, Hydra, Spezzia, and Psara, became rapidly conspicuous by the intrepidity and naval intelligence of their inhabitants. These had been originally mere sterile rocks, which were peopled in the close of the fifteenth century by Christian Albanians, who had sought an asylum in the Peloponnesus and the Cyclades from the oppression of the Ottomans in Northern Greece.* Here they had supported themselves for upwards of two centuries as fishermen and sailors, till, by the interference and protection of Russia, they rose at once into unexpected importance. Their coasting caiques were quickly superseded by a fleet of swift and commodious merchantmen; their huts were converted into magazines and elegant mansions; their ships were seen enter-

* Pouqueville, Voyage, &c. v. iii. p. 212; v. vi. p. 303. Leake's Outline, &c. p. 9.

ing every port from the Crimea to Gibraltar, they extended their voyages even to the shores of America; and their islands became, in a few years, the chief depositories of the riches and produce of Greece. In order to protect themselves from the attacks of the Barbary corsairs, they were permitted to arm their vessels, and Catharine II. was the first to provide them with cannon for that purpose. By the influence of their friends at the Phanar, they were likewise enabled to purchase exemption from the degrading karatch, nor was any Turk permitted to reside in their islands. In return for this, they paid annually a fixed tribute to the Porte, and furnished each year 300 seamen for the fleet of the Sultan.*

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Wealth and intelligence were thus springing up together amongst the Greeks, their intercourse with Europe increased, and the success of their mercantile establishments abroad induced fresh adventurers to emigrate to the ports of the Mediterranean. In the cities where they had principally congregated together, they founded schools for the education of their children: institutions of this kind existed at Venice, Trieste, Leghorn, Vienna, Bucharest, and

* These were assembled from various islands of the Levant, and were paid partly by the Porte, and partly by the Hydriots. See Pouqueville, Voyage, &c. v. vi. l. xx. c. v. p. 304.

A.D. 1792. Yassi; and each produced a number of pupils whose writings and exertions were instantly directed to the enlightenment and civilization of their country.* Numerous publications in modern Greek issued annually from the continental presses,† and though the works chosen

* Such was Spiridion Vlandis, of the Greek college of Venice, the translator of Ovid and Cornelius Nepos, (Rizo, Cours, &c. pp. 126, 147.) editor of an edition of Chariton Aphrodisiensis, and author of an Italian Grammar and Romaic Lexicon; he was a native of Cerigo. (Leake's Researches, p. 90.) Asopius, one of the most eminent *littérateurs* of Modern Greece, was educated at Trieste; Angelico Palli, an improvisatrice, at Leghorn; and Vienna has produced Alexandrides, a writer on ancient Greek literature, and author of a translation of Goldsmith's History, a Dictionary of Turkish and Romaic, and a translation of Abulfeda's Geography; (ib. p. 90. Rizo, pp. 127, 146.) Govdhela, who translated Telemachus, and published a system of Algebra; (ib. p. 147. Leake, p. 91.) and Authimus Gazis, a writer on Science and Philology, and at present editor of a Journal at Vienna, entitled 'Ερμῆς ὁ λόγιος. Odessa, Yassi, and Bucharest have likewise produced their distinguished men.

† We may form an idea of the exertions made at this period for the enlightenment of the Greeks, from the assertion of Rizo, that during the first twenty years of the present century, upwards of three thousand Romaic works have been published on the continent or at Constantinople: "Pendant les vingt premières années du siècle actuel, plus de trois mille ouvrages ou traductions en Grec Moderne ont été imprimés à Paris, à Vienne, à Venise, à Leipsick, à Moscou, à Yassi, et à Constantinople." (p. 113.)

for translation, or the subjects selected for original compositions, were not in all cases those best suited to the immediate wants of the nation, their effect was mainly conducive to the furtherance of a taste for education. The Sultan Selim III. was highly favourable to this spread of intelligence; he founded a paper manufactory at Kyatkhana, and a printing-press at Scutari, and gave every encouragement to the exertions of Demetrius Morousi for the establishment of schools throughout his dominions.* Those already existing acquired a new energy from the countenance vouchsafed to them, and new institutions sprang up under the auspices of Selim at Smyrna, Scio, Coroutchesmé,† and Aivali.

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Philipides and Constandas, whose names are justly classed with those of Bulgaris and Theotoky, were at this period the most active partisans of literature in Greece. They were natives of Milies, a little village at the foot of Mount Pelion, which had already produced individuals of talent, and after an elementary education at home, they had concluded their collegiate studies in Italy and France. During

* Walsh, pp. 16, 274. Villemain, p. 255.

† The school of Coroutchesmé was established by Morousi, under the auspices of Selim, in 1804, according to Leake; but Rizo says in 1799. (*Researches*, p. 230. *Lit. Grec.* p. 74.)

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the war of 1790, they warmly espoused the cause of Russia, and dedicated to Potemkin a geography of Greece, which they composed in conjunction.* On the peace of Yassi, they retired to their native mountains, where for many years they were successfully employed in the instruction of their countrymen; and, continuing their literary labours, they rendered into modern Greek the *Metaphysics* and *Ethics* of Soave, and the *Logic* of Condillac.† Constandas was subsequently the author of a *Romaic version* of Millot's *History*, a portion of which appeared at Vienna in 1806;‡ and Philipides, besides translations of the *astronomy* of La Lande, the *chemistry* of Fourcroix, and the *physics* of Brisson, wrote a history of the Moldavian, Wallachian, and Bessarabian tribes, for which he was presented by the Emperor Alexander with a diamond ring. He still survives at Vienna, worn down with infirmities, but enjoying the high satisfaction of looking back on a long series of successful exertions in the cause of knowledge and patriotism; and with his colleague, Constandas, is about to receive, in the accomplished free-

* It was published at Vienna, in 1791.

† The former by Constandas, the latter by Philipides.

‡ He was assisted in its composition by a physician named Carras.

dom of his country, the best reward of a life devoted to her service. A.D.
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A more remarkable individual still, and one whose name must ever engross a melancholy interest in the annals of Greece, was the unfortunate Rhiga, whose energies were about this period enthusiastically directed to the freedom and enlightenment of his countrymen. He was born at Vlestiné, in Thessaly, about the year 1753, and was early distinguished by the readiness of his talents and the shrewdness of his judgment. Like the generality of the better orders of his countrymen, he embarked in trade, and settled at Bucharest; but his attention was devoted rather to literature than commerce; he was appointed a professor of ancient Greek in one of the schools of that city, and finally obtained an official situation under the Hospodar, Michael Souzo. Thus enabled to pursue his studies with undivided attention, he became in a short time one of the most accomplished citizens of Greece; besides a familiar acquaintance with the Roman classics and those of Germany and Italy, he wrote with the same facility in French or Greek, and was equally celebrated as a poet and musician. His only original works were two treatises on Natural Philosophy and Military Tactics; but he was likewise the translator of the "Ecole des

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amants delicats," of "Marmontel's Shepherdess of the Alps," and "Barthelemi's Anacharsis;" of the latter a few volumes only have been published, but the former is considered by his countrymen as one of the most elegant productions in Romaic. The comparative geography of Greece was his favourite study, and a map which he constructed at Vienna, containing the ancient and modern names, is still referred to as one of the most accurate authorities on that interesting subject. But the fame of Rhiga arose from his patriotism rather than his learning; he seemed from boyhood to have but one inspiring object, the freedom and restoration of his country; and to this every energy of his soul, and every conception of his enthusiastic and active imagination, were unceasingly directed. He had early conceived the project of uniting the Greeks into one powerful and secret confederacy for the overthrow of their Turkish masters; but it was only when his talents had raised him high in the estimation of his countrymen, that he found an opportunity of executing his long-cherished design. His associates at Bucharest were the first to whom he confided his plans; they listened to him with an ardour equal to his own, and the nucleus of an association was thus formed by Rhiga, which was shortly to drive tyranny from

Greece. It was quickly joined by all the leading men of the nation, and its members, in the course of a few years, included the principal bishops, proestoi, merchants, and capitani of the Greeks; nay, so singularly successful were the exertions of its founder, that he had even leagued some influential Turks in his interest; and Passwan Oglou, the Vizir of Widin, who subsequently rebelled against the Porte, was known to have been a member of the celebrated Heteria.* The first step thus taken, Rhiga removed, in 1796, to Vienna, as affording a more ample field for his exertions than the confined capital of Wallachia; and here he composed those inspiring lyrics,† the circulation of which was productive of an excitement amongst the Greeks almost inconceivable. Their words, pure and poetical, were

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* 'Etraipia, the name conferred, *par excellence*, on the association of Rhiga.

† Of these the most popular is his imitation of the Mar-seillaise song, *Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, of which a beautiful but imperfect translation has been given by Lord Byron. Another still more spirited and exciting is his Kleftic Ode, commencing with *Ὡς πότε, παλληκάρια, νὰ ζοῦμεν 'ς τὰ στενά*, a copy of which, together with an admirable translation, will be found in Pouqueville's *Régénération*, &c. (v. ii. p. 388.) and in the second volume of M. Fauriel's *Chants de la Grèce*, (p. 20.) A collection of the Lyrics of Rhiga was privately printed at Yassi, in 1814.

A.D. 1797. adapted to the sweetest and most popular airs; and their sentiments, referring solely to the woes and degradation of Greece, were caught up with rapture by every indignant sufferer. They were circulated with amazing rapidity throughout every district in which the language was spoken,* and sung on all occasions, at the evening dance or the saintly festival, till every bosom was burning with their strains and "men grew heroes at the sound."† The

* "On n'entendait dans toute la Grèce que les hymnes de Riga : tous les jeunes gens les répétaient dans leurs sociétés, dans leurs festins ; l'hiver au coin de leur feu, l'été sous l'ombre des oliviers et des platanes." (Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 48.) Even the Turks, he adds, though ignorant of the meaning of the words, were so charmed with the melody of the airs of Rhiga, as to order them to be played on all occasions by their Greek musicians.

† Considered purely in a poetical point of view the songs of Rhiga are not possessed of striking merit ; but it is the impetuosity of their style, the fire of their sentiments, their indignant tone, their "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," that endeared them to the Greeks, and produced this unparalleled excitement. By far the most finished and powerful of his lyrics is the Ode to which I have referred in a previous note ; its opening is extremely bold and spirited.

Ὡς τότε, καλλιάρια, νὰ ζοῦμεν 'ς τὰ στενά,
Μονάχοι, σὰν ληοντάρια, 'ς ταῖς ρέχαις 'ς τὰ βουνά;
Σπηλαιῖς νὰ κατοικοῦμεν, νὰ βλέπωμεν κλαδιά;
Νὰ φεύγωμεν τὸν κόσμον γιὰ τὴν πικρὴν σπλαβιά;

merchants of Vienna espoused with alacrity the cause of the Heteria, but, unfortunately, the

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Ν' ἀφίωμεν ἀδέλφια, πατρίδα καὶ γονεῖς,
Τοὺς φίλους, τὰ παιδιὰ μας κ' ὅλους τοὺς συγγενεῖς ;
Καλήτερα μιᾶς ὥρας ἐλευθερῆ ζωῇ,
Παρὰ σαράντα χρόνων σκλαβιὰ καὶ φυλακῇ.

In a strain less elevated he then proceeds to call his countrymen to arms, to form a league for the overthrow of their oppressors, and to swear eternal hostility to the Turks; the oath which he suggests may be regarded as a poetical version of that proposed to the Heterists.

“ὦ βασιλεῦ τοῦ κόσμου, ὀρκίζομαι εἰς σέ,
Ἵς τὴν γνώμην τῶν τυράννων νὰ μὴν ἐλθῶ ποτέ·
Μήτε νὰ τοὺς δουλέυσω, μήτε νὰ πλανηθῶ,
Εἰς τὰ ταξίματά των νὰ μὴ παραδοθῶ·
Ἐν ὅσῳ ζῶ ἔς τὸν κόσμον, ὁ μόνος μου σκοπὸς
Τοῦ νὰ τοὺς ἀφανίσῶ, νὰ εἶναι σταθερός
Πιστὸς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, συντρίβω τὸν ζυγόν
Κ' ἀχώριστος νὰ εἶμαι ἀπὸ τὸν στρατηγόν.
Κ' ἂν παραβῶ τὸν ὄρκον, ν' ἀστράψῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς.
Καὶ νὰ μὲ κατακαύσῃ, νὰ γέν' ὡσάν καπνός.”

The poem then proceeds with an eloquent appeal to each warlike clan of the Greeks, the lions of Suli and Sparta, the eagles of Olympus and Agrafa, and the sea-birds of Hydra and Psara, to unite with the Christians of the Save and the Danube, and kindle a flame throughout Turkey that shall blaze from the mountains of Bosnia to the wilds of Arabia.

Ν' ἀνάψωμεν μιὰν φλόγα εἰς ὅλην τὴν Τουρκίαν,
Νὰ τρέξῃ ἀπὸ τὴν Βόσναν ἕως τὴν Αραπίαν.

“Let the cross,” he concludes, “shine far over mountain

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1798. plans of Rhiga were altogether premature and ill-digested; his patriotic enthusiasm had, in a great degree, blinded him to the real difficulties of his project; the time had not arrived for a movement such as he meditated, nor were the Greeks as yet equal to the task of liberating themselves. Absorbed in his visions of freedom, every other consideration was, however, lost to Rhiga; and engrossed by the magnitude of his ultimate object, he had but too much neglected its intermediate details. Even the necessity of secrecy and circumspection was overlooked; his proceedings were said to have been all along known to the Ottoman minister at Vienna; and at length, in the midst of his preparations, he was betrayed by a false friend, and along with eight of his companions, denounced as a conspirator to the Austrian authorities. He was at the moment at Trieste, on the point of embarking for Greece, and on the first intimation of his danger he attempted to stab himself with a poignard; but the wound proving slight, he was removed with his associates to Semlin, and given up to the officers of the Porte.* The only entreaty made by

and sea, till justice shall triumph and our foes disappear, till the world be released from its Ottoman scourge, and the Greeks tread in freedom the land of their sires."

* Five only were surrendered to the Porte, the other three

Rhiga on his arrest was, that he might be punished as a Christian, and not surrendered to the ferocious agents of the Sultan : but even this grace was denied him, and he was handed over unconditionally to the Turks. The guard, however, who were to conduct him to Constantinople, became alarmed for their own safety, as they had every reason to apprehend a movement in his favour, and they resolved to put him to death on their arrival at Belgrade. At the place of execution, Rhiga, by a violent effort, burst in sunder the cords which bound him, and throwing himself upon his murderers, succeeded in destroying two of them ere he was overpowered by numbers and again secured. He was then beheaded, with his accomplices, and their carcasses flung into the stream of the Danube. Happily he left no papers which could implicate or compromise his confederates ; but the blow inflicted by his death was ruinous to the Heteria, and nearly twenty years elapsed ere it resumed its active operations, or recovered from the fatal loss which it had sustained in the catastrophe of its founder.* The discovery of a plot so extensive as that of

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being Austrian subjects, were punished by the Emperor with perpetual banishment.

* Colonel Leake mentions that the designs of Rhiga, in 1798, were seconded by Bernadotte, then Minister at the

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Rhiga might have been expected to arouse the resentment, or, at least, the vigilance of the Divan towards the Greeks; but Selim was of a disposition too gentle and effeminate to be disturbed by violent measures; the first announcement of the conspiracy was productive of some excitement, but the report of the death of Rhiga and his followers served at once to allay it; and the attention of the Porte was quickly diverted into other channels by the political commotions which then disturbed the tranquillity of Europe.

Porte. (*Researches*, &c. p. 84.) The particulars of his life have been detailed in a few brief notices, of which the most copious is attached to the second volume of M. Raybaud's *Memoires sur la Grèce*, (p. 488.) it is written by C. Nicolopoulo. M. Fauriel, likewise, has given an interesting account of him in a memoir inserted in the second volume of his *Collection of Modern Greek Songs*, (pp. 15—29.) and Rizo, both in his *History* and his *Cours de Littérature Grecque Moderne*, supplies ample details of his unfortunate career. (*Hist. de la Gr. Mod.* pp. 137, 140, 241; *Cours*, &c. pp. 45, 49, 157, 179.) See also Villemain, p. 253. Raffenel, xvi. and Pouqueville, *Regénération*, &c. v. i. p. 124; v. ii. p. 388, &c.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ionian Islands and their Dependencies.—The last War of Suli.—The Klefts.—Gardiki.—A.D. 1798—1820.

THROUGHOUT the progress of those stormy events, which during the closing years of the last century distracted the tranquillity of Europe, the Greeks were by no means uninterested or passive spectators. In consequence of the treaty of Campo Formio,* the Ionian Islands and the Venetian dependencies on the Continent of Epirus, were in 1797 taken possession of by the French, under the command of General Gentili. Their arrival seemed to open a new field for the ambition and intrigues of the Vizir of Epirus. During the dynasty of the Venetians, the anarchy and turbulence of the neighbouring pachas had been regarded with suspicion by the wary republic, and kept in

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* 5th July, 1797. See vol. i. of this History, c. viii. p. 253.

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1797. check by the alliances which she took care to form with the inhabitants of the districts immediately bordering on her own possessions. Thus, by a confederacy of the Chimariots and the natives of Konispolis and Philates, the environs of Butrinto were protected from the encroachments of the Pacha of Delvino; Gomenitza and Parga were in like manner guarded by the Beys of Margariti and Paramythia; and Prevesa and Vonitza were secured by a league with the Christians of Souli, and the Acroce-raunian Mountains. The Doge, in pursuance of his marriage with the Adriatic, had always asserted the right of Venice to control its navigation by the ships of foreign powers; and since the fatal battle of Lepanto, the Turkish bairac had never dared to pass the channel of Corfu, except when a convoy was permitted to some merchant craft. In addition to this, the Republic had obtained from the Porte in 1788, a firman, prohibiting the erection of any fortress on the Epiriot coast within the distance of an Italian mile from the sea; and even the custom-house of Ali at Salagora, on the Gulf of Arta, was obliged in consequence, to remain unprotected.*

* Hughes' Travels, v. ii. p. 134. Life of Ali Pacha, p. 85. Pouqueville's *Régénération*, &c. v. iv. l. i. c. iv. p. 118. Rizo, p. 151. Carrel, p. 206.

Scarcely had the French General landed at Corfu, ere his friendship was eagerly courted by the wily satrap; and General Rosa, a gallant but young and inexperienced officer, was dispatched by Gentili to Joannina, to assure the vizir of the amicable desires of his new neighbours. Ali, convinced on their first interview of the weakness of the agent with whom he had to deal, welcomed him with the most extravagant honours; and in return for the tricolour cockade which he received from the hands of Rosa, bestowed on him Zoitza, one of the most beautiful girls of Epirus, with whom his marriage was celebrated at the palace of the Pacha. To Gentili and Admiral Bruyes, who held the command of the French fleet in the Mediterranean, his professions and services were offered with equal enthusiasm; and on all occasions supplies for their forces and vessels were copiously and unhesitatingly dispatched from Epirus. To so disinterested and ardent a friend, it was impossible to refuse a trifling favour; and when in the spring of 1798, Ali desired permission to pass the channel of Corfu, in order to chastise the insolence of two villages on the Chimariot coast, Novitza Bouba and Agio Vasili, Gentili unthinkingly acceded to his request. Like the majority of their countrymen, the inhabitants of these devoted

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1798.

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1798. spots were soldiers of fortune ; the greater number of whom had returned to their home after amassing a little wealth in the service of Naples. Their only crime in the eyes of the vizir, was their independence and love of liberty ; but hitherto the interference of the Pachas of Delvino, and the vigilance of the Venetians, had screened them from his tyranny, till the inconsiderate compliance of the French General placed them at once within his power.

An expedition, fitted out with the utmost privacy in the Gulf of Arta, came to anchor on the eve of Easter in the Bay of Loucovo ; and at midnight, during the celebration of the sacraments and holy rites peculiar to the Greek Church at this festive season, the Albanians dispersing themselves throughout the streets, massacred without discrimination all who passed within their reach, plundered the churches, fired the houses, and reduced in a few hours the happy villages to heaps of ruins. As the sun rose upon the work of slaughter, a fresh band of murderers under the command of Youseph the Arab, came to relieve the assassins of the night, and complete the destruction of the Chimariots. The perishing wretches arrested in their flight, or dragged from their hiding-places, were butchered wholesale in the streets ; at every turning were to be seen the fires at

which they were roasted by the soldiers of the tyrant, or the stakes on which they were withering in all the agonies of impalement, and one tree which long marked the scene of death, was known by the name of "the Martyrs' Olive," from its having borne the carcases of an entire family, consisting of fourteen individuals, who were hanged upon its branches.* For this exploit, which was represented to the Divan as an expedition against a band of rebellious brigands, Ali received from the Porte the title of "Aslan," or the lion: the miserable remnant of the inhabitants were transported to the vicinity of Triccala in Thessaly, and the possession of their towns opened the way to farther encroachments on the Pachalic of Delvino.

In the mean time, the Porte was actively employed in vain attempts to quell the insurrection of Paswan Oglou, the Vizir of Widdin, the chief of a party who had taken up arms to oppose the introduction of the Nizam Djedid or organized troops, attempted to be introduced by the Sultan Selim III.† Forty Pachas from

* *Perevos Ιστορια*, &c. v. i. c. i. p. 1. Life of Ali, p. 88. Pouqueville, v. iv. L. i. c. 4. p. 121. Hughes, v. ii. p. 135. Rizo, p. 151. Dufey, p. 95. Carrel, p. 207.

† Ample details of this innovation and the disturbances attendant upon it, will be found in Mac Farlane's Constantinople, and Dr. Walsh's Travels.

A.D. 1798. Europe and Asia Minor were encamped beneath the walls of Widdin, under the command of Cutchuk Hussein, Capitan Pacha, when Ali received orders to march his troops to their assistance. He set out accordingly with a band of 16,000 men, with whom he joined the Sultan's standard on the banks of the Danube.

But a few months had elapsed from the occupation of Corfu by France, till the relations between that Power and Turkey were completely altered. The preparations of the Directory in the spring of 1798, for a descent upon England, with whatever sincerity of intention they may have been commenced, served latterly but as a cloak to the projected invasion of Egypt; and so successful had been the *ruse*, that almost the first intimation received by the Porte of the movements of the hostile armament, was the intelligence of the landing of Napoleon at Alexandria, on the 1st of July,

July. 1798.

The news of this important event was conveyed to Ali at Widdin, together with letters from his son Mouctar, whom he had left in command of Joannina, in which he complained of the perfidious conduct of his friends in the islands. Their emissaries, he said, had been spiriting the Greeks to revolt; proclamations

and republican songs had been privately dispersed amongst them, and four thousand tri-colour cockades had been distributed to the Suliots by the French Consul at Arta.* This

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* Carrel, Pouqueville, and the other French authors, who have written on the political affairs of Modern Greece, whilst they exhaust their terms of vituperation on the cession of Parga by the English, take particular pains to gloss over the conduct of Gentili, in giving up six thousand of the inhabitants of Novitza Bouba and Agio Vasili to be coolly butchered by Ali Pacha. As an instance of the humane policy of the French, they adduce their exertions at this period to excite the Greeks to rebellion against the Porte: "*Loin d'être disposés à river les fers de la nation Grecque,*" says M. Carrel, "*les Français aspiraient à les briser; ils faisaient distribuer dans toute la Grèce des proclamations, des chants républicains, et cette cocarde aux trois couleurs, partout reçue comme un talisman de liberté.*" (p. 208.) Rizo details at some length the proceedings and alleged designs of the French at this period. "*Depuis la conquête des Sept Isles Ioniennes par les Français, la nation Grecque vit dans ce grand peuple son libérateur; et le regardant comme disposé à l'affranchir et comme capable de le faire, elle forma une ligue de tous les Capitaines depuis la basse Albanie jusqu'à la Macedoine transaxienne; elle n'attendait qu'un signal pour s'ébranler. Des émissaires Français parcouraient la Grèce et y excitaient les esprits à la révolte, non seulement parmi les Grecs, mais encore parmi les Seigneurs Mussulmans de la haute et de la basse Albanie, qui ne respiraient que vengeance contre Aly Pacha. À ces Seigneurs Mahométans les émissaires Français promettaient de les aider dans la destruction de leur ennemi commun, et leur plan se bornait là. Mais avec les Grecs ils traitaient d'affaires tout*

A.D. 1798. information, though highly exaggerated, suited well the designs of the Pacha at the moment.

autrement importantes ; le projet était d'attaquer simultanément la Turquie dans le Péloponèse par Maina ; de débarquer des troupes Françaises à Agi Saranda, ville de la province de Chimæra, peuplée des Grecs, et située vis-à-vis de l'Île de Corfou : de faire à la fois deux descentes, l'une à Volos, sur le Golfe Malaique, afin de soulever tous les guerriers du Mont Olympe ; et l'autre à Parga, pour exciter l'Albanie et les Monténégrins" (Hist. &c. p. 171.) In Maina especially, the agents of Buonaparte were received with particular enthusiasm, from a prejudice in his favour in consequence of his being born in Corsica, where numbers of their countrymen had found an asylum after the conquest of Candia in 1669. In the panic consequent on this disastrous event, a large body of the Mainotes had resolved on seeking an abode in some distant retreat, rather than remain under the dominion of the Turks. An individual named John Stephanopoli, who professed to be a descendant of the Comneni, was deputed on a mission to solicit the protection of the senate of Genoa, who granted them permission to settle in the district of Paomia in Corsica. They accordingly sailed from Porto Vitylo, to the number of seven hundred and sixty persons, on the 3rd of October 1673 ; and after touching at Genoa to obtain a ratification of the grant, they proceeded to the island and took possession of their new territory. Here the colony remained for a number of years, perfectly distinct from the surrounding inhabitants ; and devoting themselves solely to agriculture and industry, they declined taking any part in the frequent seditions and insurrections of the Corsicans against the Genoese. They preserved in their exile the manners and language of their country ; and even at the present day, some of the national songs

He laid his despatches before Hussein, pointed out the necessity of his being on the spot to protect the interests of the Sultan from the intrigues of the French; and obtained permission to return forthwith to Epirus.*

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His first measure, on his arrival, was to renew to General Chabot, who had succeeded Gentili in the command at Corfu, his professions of

of the Morea are to be heard in the streets of Ajaccio, and the vicinity of Paomia. At length, in 1730, the greater portion of them having become obnoxious from their steady loyalty to their original benefactors the Genoese, they were compelled by the Corsicans to surrender their lands, and retire from the island. See Villemain, p. 170, 172.

It is said, that during the intrigues of Buonaparte in Maina, in 1798, one of the arguments used by his agent Stephanopoli, in his favour, was that Napoleon was himself by birth a Mainote, and descended from the exiles who had fled to Corsica in 1673. The name of his family, he said, was *Καλομερις*, which had been literally translated into "Buonaparte," by his immediate ancestors, in order to suit it to the dialect of the Corsicans. The name of Kalomeri exists, I have been informed, in the Morea; but as Napoleon claimed his descent from a Florentine family who had figured in the civil wars of the Guelfs and Ghibbelines, the Greek derivation has perhaps no other authority than the ingenuity of Stephanopoli. The despatches of this agent to Napoleon, containing his observations on the Albanians, the Moreots, and especially the Mainotes, will be found at length in the first vol. of Dufey's *Regeneration*, &c. p. 289.

* Pouqueville, v. iv. l. i. c. 4. p. 125. Hughes, v. ii. p. 136. Rizo, p. 152. Dufey, v. i. p. 97. Carrel, p. 208.

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1798. good will towards France; and to assure him that his only object in withdrawing his forces from before Widdin, was his desire to observe an armed neutrality in his Pachalic. He even offered to send a body of his troops to reinforce the garrison at Corfu, provided the Island of Santa Maura were surrendered to him; but this the General had the prudence to decline. Russia and England had in the mean time combined with Turkey, for the purpose of opposing France; and Ali, aware that the Ionian Islands were soon likely to change masters, prepared to benefit by the revolution.

Sep. 10,
1798. War was declared by the Porte against the Republic on the 10th of Sept. 1798, and by means of his agents at Constantinople, Ali succeeded in obtaining a commission authorizing him to commence hostilities against the Ionian dependencies on the continent.* Without delay, he issued orders for the assembling of his troops, and by the beginning of October had formed his encampment in the vicinity of Butrinto. Anxious, before proceeding, to ascertain the precise forces of the French in the Islands, he invited the Adjutant-General Rosa, who held the command at Corfu during the temporary

* Hughes, v. ii. p. 137. Life of Ali Pacha, p. 93. Rizo, p. 153. Pouqueville, p. 126.

absence of Chabot, to meet him for a conference at Philates.* He came without hesitation, relying on the former friendship of the Pacha; but immediately on his arrival, he was seized, and conveyed in irons to Joannina, whence the tyrant, having partly by threats, and chiefly by torture, extracted from him the requisite information of the extreme weakness of the French, sent him a prisoner to the Seven Towers at Constantinople, on the pretence of his having been seized as a spy.† Ali had now flung off the mask, and without delay he marched his whole forces against Prevesa. The greater number of the inhabitants having some suspicion of his intentions, had retired with their families to Leucadia, Paxo, and Parga, and there remained for the defence of the town merely 400 men, and a body of 300 French under the command of General La Salcette. Dissension had already been sown between the Prevesans and their defenders by means of Ignatius, the Archbishop of Arta, an agent of Ali; and it is even said that during the subsequent engagement, the soldiers of La Salcette were treacherously fired upon by their

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* 10th Sept. 1798.

† He died in confinement the year following, chiefly in consequence of the cruelties he had endured from Ali Pacha. *Perevos*, v. i. c. 1. p. 3. *Pouqueville*, v. iv. p. 126.

A.D. 1798. infatuated allies.* On the night of the 23d of October the Pacha appeared before the town, with a body of 5000 Turks and Albanians, having bribed a Suliote, Captain Georgio Bozaris,† to grant him a passage through the district of Louro, which was under his command. Numbers of the Prevesans and other Greeks, terrified at the appearance of danger, deserted on his first approach, and the French, almost unsupported, sustained for some time the furious onset of the enemy, till at length borne down by numbers, they were forced to capitulate, and surrendered their arms to Mouctar Pacha. As usual, the defenceless Greeks were instantly devoted to slaughter, and for two succeeding days the pillage and massacre were uninterrupted.‡ Ignatius, the traitorous pre-

* Perevos, vi. c. 1. p. 5. Hughes, vol. ii. p. 140. Pouqueville, v. iv. p. 130.

† The same who subsequently betrayed the Suliots.

‡ More explicit details of the capture of Prevesa and the subsequent sufferings of the French garrison, who were marched prisoners to Constantinople, will be found in Pouqueville, and in Bellaire's *Précis des opérations générales de la division Française du Levant*, c. xviii. a translation of it will be found in an English version of Perevos, published in Edinburgh, 1823. It is extremely incorrect, being in fact a translation of an Italian translation, by Gherardini, of Milan. See also Perevos, v. i. c. 1. p. 4, 5, 6. Carrel, p. 214, and Dufey, v. i. p. 101, who, however is incorrect in stating that the garrison were put to the sword by Ali.

late, was sent to demand the submission of Vonizza. He succeeded, and, on his return, having induced a multitude of fugitives to accompany him back to Prevesa, they were the following day conducted by the Pacha to Salagora, and, to the number of two hundred, murdered in cold blood.

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Satiated with slaughter, the Pacha hastily turned his attention to the seizure of Santa Maura. He had drawn up his army on the opposite strand of Playa, and summoned the inhabitants to surrender: they were on the point of compliance, and the articles of capitulation were even said to have been signed and transmitted to the tyrant,* when the timely arrival of a Russian squadron inspired them with fresh courage, and Ali was compelled to retire disappointed to Joannina. Parga was his next attempt, but here again his overtures were rejected, and his menaces rendered futile by the firmness of the inhabitants and the impregnable nature of the position. They sent instantly to place themselves under the protection of the Russian admiral Ockzakow, and they entered into an immediate alliance with

* This document Ali is said to have ever after worn next his heart, and in right of it he never failed to assert his undoubted claim to the possession of the island. Hughes, v. ii. p. 142.

A.D. 1798. the Suliots, by which the latter engaged, in the event of any attack of the enemy, to furnish 800 soldiers for the defence of Parga,* in return for which Suli was to be supplied with ammunition and provisions in case of a rupture with the Pacha. Ali, notwithstanding these arrangements, summoned them to submit,† and called upon them to slaughter the French garrison which occupied their fortress; but his demands met no other reply than a contemptuous refusal. On receiving assurances of support from Ockzakow, they subsequently sent a deputation to Preveza, where the vizir still remained, to offer not their submission, but their alliance.‡ Not content with this expression of

* Perevos, v. i. p. 121.

† The correspondence between Ali and the primates of Parga on this occasion will be found at length in Perevos, v. i. p. 183, &c.

‡ The concluding paragraph of the address, which was borne by their deputies on the occasion, is highly characteristic of the genius of the two people. "If," say they, "the Pacha be not satisfied with this act of simple homage as specified above, but should attempt, by threatening our deputies with death, to compel them to enter into any compact prejudicial to the interests of our country, we unanimously empower them to accede unhesitatingly to his wishes, in order to preserve their lives, since no such convention can ever be considered by us as binding." **Αν δ' ἐξανατίας ὁ ῥηθεις Πασας δὲν εὐχαριστηθῇ ὡς ἀναδεν, ἀλλ' ἤθελε τοὺς στενοχωρήσῃ μὲ κίνδυνον ζωῆς των, διὰ να δεχθοῦν, καὶ ὑπογράψουν*

amicable respect, Ali compelled the deputies to affix their names to a document, by which they assigned to him the sovereignty of Parga; but this unauthorized proceeding was of course instantly disclaimed by the Parguinotes, and a Turkish officer, commissioned by the vizir to plant the Ottoman flag upon their walls, was with difficulty permitted to escape with life. At the same time the prompt assistance which they derived from Suli, and the generous protection of the Russian commander, enabled them to set at defiance the haughtiest menaces of the enraged vizir. Gomenitza and Butrinto were, however, less resolute or less fortunate; they were occupied almost without opposition by the Albanians: Parga alone remained to tempt the ambition of Ali, and, convinced that its strength arose solely from its alliance with the Suliots, he prepared to concentrate all his energies for the extermination of that turbulent and contumacious tribe.

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In 1799 he had been invited to aid the united forces of Russia and the Porte in the siege of Corfu, which they were investing, and

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κακήν τινα συνθήκην διὰ τὴν πατρίδα μας, ἡμεῖς ὅλοι συμφώνως (διὰ τὸ ἀποφυγεῖν τὸν θάνατον) τοὺς δίδομεν τὴν ἄδειαν νὰ τὸ μεταχειρισθῶν ἀνεμποδίστως· ἐπειδὴ αἱ τοιαῦται συνθήκαι δὲν θέλει ποτὲ λάβουν τόπον, ὅπερ ὑποληψιν. (Perevos, v. i. p. 127.)

A.D. 1799. during the early portion of the year his army lay encamped beneath Butrinto: on the capture and occupation of the island by the allies,* he was at length permitted to retire, and his services were acknowledged by the Sultan and the divan with thanks and congratulations. By the subsequent treaty of March, 1800, the independence of the Ionian republic was guaranteed under the joint protection of the courts of Constantinople and St. Petersburg, and the continental dependencies were annexed to the dominions of the Sultan.† The privileges secured to them, with regard to religion and the administration of justice, were the same enjoyed by the Hospodariats of Wallachia and Moldavia; no Turk, with the exception of one chief governor, was to reside amongst them; their churches were to be repaired without any reference to the Ottoman authorities; and their tribute (which was surrendered for the first year in consideration of their sufferings in the war) was in no instance to exceed that exacted by the Venetians.

A.D. 1800. It was early in the year 1800,‡ ere Ali had thoroughly matured his plans for an attack

* March 3, 1799.

† See vol. i. of this History, c. viii. p. 259.

‡ M. Pouqueville states this war to have commenced in the summer of 1799, but this is at variance with his details

upon Suli; but his impatience for its reduction was every hour increased by the proceedings of the Russians at Corfu, who maintained a perpetual intercourse with the Christians and Greeks along the Epiriot coast.* The Mahometan troops in his service, flushed with their late successes, were eager to be employed in fresh expeditions against the giaours; and their enthusiasm was heightened by the timely revival of an ancient prophecy of the Koran, which was represented by the choriza of the Pacha to foretell the endurance of the Albanian dominion for forty years after the overthrow of the Turkish power; "that power," he exclaimed, "was now verging to its decline, and this was the moment for the chiefs of Albania to exterminate their enemies, and ensure at least the peace, if not the permanence, of their approaching empire."†

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His assembled forces, on the completion of his levies, amounted to upwards of 20,000 men,‡ whose intended service was kept a profound secret, Santa Maura, Parga, and Egypt,

of its progress. I have followed the dates of Perevos, who states it to have begun on the 2nd of June, O. S.

* Pouqueville, v. i. p. 142.

† Perevos, v. i. p. 52. Bartholdy, *Voyage en Grèce*, v. ii. p. 259. Hughes, v. ii. p. 146. Rizo, p. 159. Dufey, v. i. p. 111.

‡ Rizo estimates them at 30,000, (p. 159.) Hughes at

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being in turn conjectured as their possible destination. The apprehensions of the Suliots had in the mean time been lulled, not only by the precautions of the vizir, but by the exertions of one of their own chiefs, Georgio Botzaris, whom Ali had seduced to his interests by a bribe of 25,000 piastres. He was, at the period of his defection, one of the most influential leaders of his tribe; the ammunition of the state was under his care, and by a treacherous manoeuvre, it was conveyed, on the eve of the invasion, to the quarters of the enemy.* On the first intimation, therefore, of the Pacha's march, the warlike little community were

June
14th.

18,000, (v. ii. p. 146,) Fauriel at 20,000, (v. i. p. 247,) and Perevos, Pouqueville, and Bartholdy at 28,000 men.

* On the advance of Ali upon Suli, in spite of all these disadvantages, he found the mountain in a much more formidable position for defence than he had been led by the representations of Botzaris to believe. Enraged at this disappointment and his frequent defeats, he insisted on the traitor immediately joining his army, with all his family and followers, and it was only by lengthened and earnest entreaty that Botzaris obtained permission to send forward his soldiers, and remain himself behind. Remorse had already seized upon him; his little band of 200 retainers, led on by his sons, were cut to pieces at the mountain of Raidovuni, and, a few months after, the unfortunate chieftain expired of a broken heart. Perevos, v. i. p. 57. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 147. Bartholdy, v. ii. p. 270. Fauriel, v. i. p. 247. Dufey, v. i. p. 112.

obliged, on a few hours notice, to hurry to their posts, and retire within the fortified villages, almost totally unprovided with arms, ammunition, or even the necessary store of provisions. The number capable of bearing arms amongst them amounted to little more than 1500 men, the chief command of whom was conferred upon Dimo Draco, Christos Botzaris, cousin to the traitor, and Foto Tzavellas, the same who in the preceding war had been left as a hostage by his father in the hands of the Pacha. He had been educated, together with his sister Chaïdo, under the auspices of his amazonian mother, Moscho; and, nursed in the very cradle of war, he had already, at the age of six-and-twenty, become the Achilles of his race. Like Hannibal, whilst yet a child, he had taken an oath of eternal hostility to the enemies of his country, and as he grew to manhood, so conspicuous were his justice and his valour, that "by the sword of Tzavellas" was the ordinary oath of his companions.* In all the athletic exercises of his clan, he was without a rival; in talent, in energy, and endurance, he

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* 'Ο δὲ ὄγκος ἐλέγετο παρ' αὐτῶν οὕτω· "μὰ τὸν Θεὸν ἀδελφεὶ (δεῖνα), ἂν σοι λέγω ψεύματα, ἀπὸ τὸ σπαθὶ τοῦ Φώτου Τζαβέλλα νὰ μὴ γλυτώσω." (Perevos, v. i. p. 93.) Or, *Ἄν ψευδαίμαι, τὸ Σπαθὶ τοῦ Φώτου νὰ μοῦ κόψη ταῖς ἡμέραις. (Pouqueville, v. i. n. p. 171.)

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1800. stood immeasurably superior to the most distinguished chieftains of the mountain; and to him all eyes turned instinctively as their leader in the present emergency.*

Ali commenced hostilities by some skirmishes with scattered parties of the Suliots, in which, though the Turks were often successful, owing to their overwhelming numbers, their dense columns were fearfully thinned by the destructive fire of the enemy; whilst they, separated into flying detachments, and presenting no broad front to their opponents, escaped almost uninjured. Besides, several of the Pacha's allies, especially the Beys of Paramithia and Margariti, were privately disposed in favour of the mountaineers, and conveyed to them constant information of his plans. The campaign had scarcely commenced, ere his soldiers, galled by frequent defeats, and harassed in their encampments by the unceasing descents and nightly attacks of the Suliots, began to murmur against the service, and entreated permission to return to Joannina.

Convinced, at length, of the impossibility of effecting any thing by assault, Ali determined on converting the siege into a blockade, and commenced with promptitude the

* Hughes, v. ii. p. 148. Rizo, p. 162. Fauriel, v. ii. p. 247.

erection of a number of small forts commanding the principal exits from the mountain.* The country and villages for miles along the course of the Acheron and around the district of Suli, was completely laid waste, in order to offer no temptation to the frequent foraging expeditions of the besieged, in which numbers of the Pacha's troops were invariably cut off. The alliances of the neighbouring Beys and Pachas were eagerly solicited to assist in the completion of the blockading cordon, and, amongst others, Ibrahim of Berat was induced to join the camp with a reinforcement of 2000 soldiers. With these he sought to make a diversion, and draw off a portion of the Suliots by attacking Kurillo, a strong position about four miles distant from the principal village. Hither Tzavellas, with a hundred hardy adherents, hastened to meet him; but, after a well-contested action, in which Ibrahim was repulsed, Tzavellas was struck down, in the very moment of victory, by a ball from a concealed enemy. The Turks, animated by his supposed death, rallied, and with redoubled enthusiasm returned to the charge, allured, in a great degree, by the costly price which the Pacha had set upon his head. The action thus renewed, continued from noon till sunset, whilst

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* Perevos, v. i. p. 67. Rizo, p. 160. Dufey, v. i. p. 115.

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1800. the wounded and exhausted chieftain, surrounded by his struggling comrades, and exposed in the midst of an affray in which he could no longer join, besought his followers, as fortune seemed occasionally to waver, to sever his head from his body, nor permit it to be borne in insulting triumph to the tent of the vizir.* The approach of night at length brought a respite, and his wearied soldiers bore off their exhausted leader, whose wounds prevented him for many months from appearing at the head of the Suliots.

The expedition had been undertaken by the Pacha in the summer; and as autumn advanced, the ranks of his army were daily thinned by pestilence† and hardship, whilst their spirits were broken by delay, privations, and unwholesome food. The war, too, showed no symptoms of drawing to a close: the Turks, unable to gain ground by acting on the offensive, were compelled to remain quietly in their entrenchments, where they were nightly assailed by flying parties of the mountaineers, and their stores plundered by foraging detachments,‡

* See vol. i. of this History, c. xi. p. 432. Hughes, v. ii. p. 154.

† Pouqueville, v. i. p. 149.

‡ On one of these occasions, a Suliot, named Gianni Striviniottis, perceiving that the Turks had received a large supply

who had become so hardy in their expeditions as even to proceed to Parga in quest of provisions and supplies.* In this emergency, as winter approached, Ali was forced to make overtures of peace, and the concessions being all on his part, the Suliots at once accepted of his terms, and sent four-and-twenty hostages to Joannina, as securities for their observance of the treaty. No sooner, however, had the vizir got within his power so large a number of his enemies, than his passion for vengeance rose superior to his prudence; he seized their arms at the porch of the church, where they were accustomed to deposit them on entering, imprisoned them at Joannina, and sent to apprise the Suliots of his intention of massacring them without mercy or reservation should their countrymen persist to hold out against him. This perfidious measure, so far from producing the

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of live stock, covered himself towards sunset with a sheep-skin, and, crawling on all fours, was driven with the rest of the flock within the inclosure where the cattle were secured for the night. Waiting till he was convinced by the general quietness that all were asleep, he gently opened the door, and driving the entire herd before him, proceeded towards the mountain. The Turks were awakened by the bleating of the sheep, but fear of an ambuscade deterred them from making any effort to overtake the plunderers. *Perevos*, v. i. p. 94.

* *Perevos*, v. i. p. 73.

A.D.
1800. desired effect, served only to exasperate the wrath of the Suliots; in their reply they denounced him as a monster of the basest die, and declared their determination to wither on their rocks rather than submit to his proposals.*

Ibrahim of Berat, disgusted with the treachery and still more with the ill success of the vizir, now withdrew his forces and retired north; and at the same time Ali became acquainted with the understanding existing between the Suliots and the Bey of Paramithia. Distracted by these fresh disappointments, he had again recourse to negotiations; Kitzo, or Christos Botzaris, son to the traitor already mentioned, a man of singular merit, but compelled, by the unfortunate circumstances in which his father's crime had involved him, to become the agent of the tyrant, was dispatched to the mountain, and authorized to purchase its surrender by an offer of 2000 purses, and permission for the Suliots to reside, exempt from tribute, in any quarter of the vizir's dominions which they might think proper to select. Their reply was worthy of them: "Ali Pacha," said they, "we salute you;—our country is dearer, far dearer to us than your gold, or those happy

* Perevos, v. i. p. 73. Rizo, p. 161. Hughes, v. ii. p. 155. Fauriel, v. i. p. 251. Bartholdy, v. ii. p. 273.

lands which in your liberality you proffer us: and as for our liberty, you can never purchase it,—not even with the congregated treasures of the earth,—its price will be the heart's blood of the last of the Suliots.* Failing in his public efforts, he next sought to corrupt the individual integrity of the leaders; Tzavellas he knew to be beyond the reach of his temptations, but amongst the inferior captains he hoped to find more willing agents. He proposed to Dimo, the head of the family of Zervas, an immediate reward of 800 purses, and the most distinguished honours at Ioannina, on the terms of his betraying the republic. “I thank you, vizir,” replied Dimo, “but I must entreat you to retain your gold, since I could never even count so vast a sum; nor, let me add, is it sufficient to purchase one stone of my native mountains. Your proffered honours I reject; *my* honours are my arms, nor can any title add such glory to my

A.D.
1800.

* Βεζίρ 'Αλή Πασᾶ σὲ χαιρετοῦμεν. Ἡ Πατρίς μας εἶναι ἀπείρων γλυκυτέρα καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἄσπρα σου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς εὐτυχεῖς τόπους, ὅπου ὑπόσχουσαι να μᾶς δώσης ὅθεν ματαίως κοπιᾷς, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐλευθερία μας δὲν πωλεῖται, οὔτε ἀγοράζεται σχεδὸν μὲ ὅλους τοὺς θήσαυρους τῆς γῆς, παρὰ μὲ τὸ αἷμα καὶ θάνατον ἡμῶν τὸν ὕστερον Σουλιώτην. Perevos, v. i. p. 79. Bartholdy, v. ii. p. 273. Hughes, v. ii. p. 159. Rizo, p. 161. Fauriel, v. i. p. 252.

A.D. 1800. name as that of the defender of a country I adore."* His attempts to seduce the priesthood of Paramithia, in whose district Suli is situated, were equally unprincipled and unsuccessful: the Archbishop Chrysanthes withstood every offer of his agent, a caloyer, called Joseph, or (from his villainy) Kako-Joseph, and was at length compelled to fly to Parga for protection against the baffled and exasperated Pacha.

A.D. 1801. Spring had now set in, the blockade had lasted for nearly nine months, and whilst in all this time the Suliots had lost but about five-and-twenty individuals, the army of the vizir, by death or desertion, had dwindled from twenty to eight thousand men, besides a few shut up in the blockading towers. The situation of the besieged was, however, becoming hourly more and more distressing; the season

* Σὲ εὐχαριστῶ, Βεζύρη μου, διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην ἧκου ἔχεις εἰς ἐμένα. Πλὴν τὰ ὀκτακόσια πουργεῖα παρακαλῶ μὴ μοῦ τὰ στείλῃς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ δὲν ἔξυρω νὰ τὰ μετρήσω· καὶ ἂν ἔξυρα, πάλιν δὲν ἦμουν εὐχαριστομένης νὰ σοὶ δώσω οὔτε μίαν πέτραν τῆς πατρίδος μου δι' ἀντιπληρωμὴν, καὶ οὐχὶ πατρίδα—καθὼς φανταζέσαι. Ἡ τιμὴ δὲ ἧκου μοι ὑποσχέσαι μοι εἶναι ἄχρηστος· πλούτη καὶ τιμὴ εἰς ἐμένα εἶναι τὰ ἄρματα μου, μὲ τὰ ὁποῖα ἀθανατίζω τὸ ὄνομά μου, καὶ φυλάττω, καὶ τιμῶ τὴν γλυκυτάτην μου πατρίδα. Perevos, v. i. p. 80. Hughes, v. ii. p. 158.

was unusually severe, their provisions were exhausted, the villages, which had once supplied them, were plundered and destroyed, and although the greater portion of the aged, the women and the children had been removed for security to the islands, their scanty store soon ceased to satisfy the wants of the remainder. The Turks having possession of the springs in the valleys, those who had charge of the fortresses were forced to supply themselves with water by means of sponges let down from the battlements to suck up the scanty drops which rested on the clefts of the rocks. Acorns, bark, and the grass of the field became at length their principal sustenance, which they were accustomed to boil, with a few handfuls of meal, and distribute to the famishing soldiers; and on this unhealthy food they continued to fight on, amidst the cold, the snow, and the pelting rain, till famine had thinned their ranks more effectually than the sword.* So altered had the survivors become by their sufferings, that their companions failed at last to recognize them; their withered limbs, their blackened countenances, their dry and sunken eyes, and hungry forms, seeming rather like moving

A.D.
1801.

* Fauriel, v. i. p. 253. Perevos, v. i. p. 89. Life of Ali Pacha, p. 127. Carrel, p. 217. Rigo, p. 162. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 150. Dufey, v. i. p. 117. Hughes, v. ii. p. 159.

A.D.
1801.

corpses than the warlike defenders of a beleaguered fortress. "But amidst all these agonies," says their native historian, "their souls remained still unsubdued, their hatred of their tyrants seemed to rise in vigour as their limbs sunk in weakness, and even the women of the tribe, as they looked wistfully in the faces of their perishing husbands, whispered 'death, but not submission.'"^{*} Two individuals alone during all these trying circumstances proved faithful to their cause; one Diamante Zervas, after listening to the seductions of Ali, and accepting of his terms, returned again to his duty, and abandoned the Pacha, but the other, by name Kutzonikas, continued to the last a foe to his country.

^{*} Perevos, v. i. p. 90. It is remarked by Perevos, that during all this extremity of suffering, the ready wit and volatile spirits of the Greeks remained still conspicuous. In one instance he relates that the Pacha, having issued a proclamation, offering 500 piastres for the head of each Suliote; their commanders published a similar document, offering ten cartridges of gunpowder for the head of each Turk, (v. i. p. 95.) On another occasion, an ass belonging to the Suliots had wandered within reach of their besiegers, who of course laid hold on it. The beast being particularly serviceable in various ways, they sent a messenger to negotiate for its return, promising to forward an equivalent in its stead. The Turks consented, and the Suliots immediately sent back a Turk, whom they had taken prisoner a few days previous, stating that they sent value for value. (v. i. p. 96.)

This rigorous blockade had continued uninterruptedly for eighteen months, when various Beys and Governors of Epirus, struck with the superhuman endurance and hardy valour of the Suliots, detached themselves from the cause of the Pacha, and entered into alliances with them. Amongst the most influential of these were Ibrahim Pacha of Berat, Mustafa of Delvino, Islam Pronio Aga of Paramithia, Mahmoud Daliani of Konispolis, and the Beys of Chamouri.* From these the besieged received supplies of provisions and ammunition; they exchanged hostages with them, entered into a league offensive and defensive, and Suli again seemed prepared to bid defiance to every effort for its destruction. This confederacy, had it been composed of individuals possessed of probity and firmness, would in the end have been sufficient to overthrow the general oppressor. The Ætolian Armatoli, under their leaders Palæopoulo and Blachavas, enraged at the death of one of their chieftains Canavos, who had lately been murdered by the emissaries of the vizir,† joined it with all their forces, and Colo-

A.D.
1801.

* Perevos, v. i. p. 97. Bartholdy, v. ii. p. 271. Fauriel, v. i. p. 257. Hughes, v. ii. p. 162. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 152.

† Dufey, v. i. p. 120.

A.D. 1802. cotroni, the principal of the Moreot Klefts,* hastened to make common cause with his northern brethren. Ali, however, aware of the fickle character of the Albanians, and relying on his own means of corruption, seemed to regard it with calmness and composure. His secret agents were instantly set to work, the inferior Beys of Berat were induced to revolt against Ibrahim, who in consequence returned hastily to his dominions; those of Paramithia, in like manner, received his gold, and drove their governor Pronio from his territory; dissension was sown amongst the chiefs of Chamouri, and the officer who guarded the castle of Delvino betrayed his master Mustafa, and delivered it, together with six Suliot hostages, into the hands of the Pacha.† The league, by the loss

April 1802.

* Son to him already mentioned, who perished after the expulsion of the Albanians from the Morea.

† Ali immediately removed the hostages to Joannina, where four of them were put to death without delay, the other two, one a son to Dimo Drako, the other brother to Tzavellas, he contented himself by imprisoning. This apparent clemency was meant to conciliate Tzavellas and Drako, but it failed in its effect. Tzavellas assembled his clan and directed funeral obsequies to be performed, not for the four who had actually perished, but for the entire six, observing that those who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Pacha might be regarded as already dead. (Perevos, v. i. p. 103. Fauriel, v. i. p. 259.) Ali, on learning the

of these efficient supporters, was crushed effectually and at once, the blockade was renewed with greater vigilance than before, and again all

A.D.
1802.

singular incident, sent back the two hostages, at the request, as he said, of the Aga of Margariti.

One of the most beautiful songs in the collection of M. Fauriel refers to this remarkable trait in the character of Tzavellas.

Σύγγερον μαῦρον σκέπαζε τὸ Σούλι καὶ τὴν Κιάφρα, &c.

Des nouages noirs couvrent Souli et Kiapha :—il a plu tout le jour ; il a neigé toute la nuit ;—et l'on voit venir du côté de Sistrani un jeune Souliote agile et lesté. Il apporte des nouvelles, de tristes nouvelles, de Jannina :—“ Des alliés sont la perte des braves :—écoutez, vous, les enfans de Photos, et vous, les braves de Drakos ;—Delvinon est traître ; il a livré nos frères ;—il les a envoyés tous les six, tous les six ensemble au Pacha. Ali en a fait mourir quatre ; à deux il a fait grace de la vie,—au frère de Photos et au fils de Dimos Drakos.” Photos et Drakos quand ils entendent cette nouvelle en ont grand dépit. “ Protopappas, disent-ils tous deux au chef de leurs prêtres—dis l'office des morts pour ces braves, pour tous les six : nous les tenons tous pour morts, les deux comme les quatre—car le Pacha ne fait point grace de la vie aux Suliotes : et tout Souliote au pouvoir du Pacha a, pour nous, cessé de vivre.*

* Δέσποτα, τὸν προτόπαπον ἐφαναξαν κ' οἱ δύο,
Ψάλλ' ὅλων τὰ μνημόσυνα τῶν ἑξ παλληκαριῶν μας·
Τὰ δυὸ, καθὼς τὰ τέσσερα, σφαγμένα τα μετροῦμε.
Οὔτε ὁ Τύραννος ζωὴν τῶν Σουλιωτῶν χαρίζει·
Οὔτε Σουλιώτης ζωτάνδς 'ς τὰ χέρια του λογαῖται.

v. i. p. 296.

A.D.
1802. the horrors of famine seemed gathering round the devoted fortresses. The Suliots, however, rather roused to energy than distressed by the weight of their impending misfortunes, renewed the struggle with fresh vigour; they assaulted on a sudden the principal positions of the Turks, and having slain all who opposed them, they stripped the remainder of their arms, desiring them to go back to Joannina for a fresh supply, as they would shortly want a few more at the mountain.

July. The summer of 1802 arrived ere the vizir had gained a single advantage, and in the mean time a fresh insurrection had arisen in the north, where Tzortzim Pacha had rebelled against the Porte, and Ali was compelled to withdraw the best portion of his troops, which were ordered to join the army of the Sultan at Adrianople. The interval of relaxation consequent upon the event was occupied by the Suliots in active preparations for the renewal of hostility. A singular character had lately appeared amongst them, who by his remarkable habits and energetic devotion to their cause had succeeded in gaining the confidence of the people, and was appointed polemarch, or minister of war, to the little republic. This was a monk named Samuel, whose country or origin was unknown, and who bore in Suli

the title of "The Last Judgment,"* the only epithet by which he designated himself in his proclamations and addresses to the Suliots. In religion he was a fanatic of the gloomiest order, and his actions were all regulated by a more than Oriental reliance on the doctrines of predestination. The Greeks, ever allured by the marvellous, crowded round him with enthusiasm, and followed his footsteps from village to village, whilst he proclaimed amongst them "the fulfilment of time," "the overthrow of Kedar," and the approaching "glory of the remnant of the Lord."† His ascetic sanctity, his wild and prophet-like aspect, his fastings, his preachings, and, above all, the purity of his patriotism, served to endear him to his companions; and Samuel, the caloyer, became in a few months equal in influence and importance to Tzavellas or Drako.‡ During the interval between the departure of the Pacha's troops and their return from Adrianople, a period

A.D.
1802.

A.D.
1803.
April.

* ἡ τελευταία κρίσις.

† Perevos, on his first mention of Samuel, speaks of him in terms of high admiration, (v. i. p. 93.) but towards the conclusion of the work he does not scruple to attribute most of the disasters of Suli to his pernicious councils and the blind reliance of the people on the exhortations of so wild a visionary. (ib. v. ii. pp. 6, 20.)

‡ Pouqueville, v. i. pp. 159, 169. Life of Ali Pacha, p. 181. Bartholdy, v. ii. p. 278. Fauriel, v. i. p. 259.

A.D.
1803. of about ten months, the Suliots, under his directions, were busily occupied in provisioning their villages, and erecting a new fortress on a hill called Agia-Paraskevi, midway between Suli and Gkiaffa, which was intended as a storehouse for ammunition and an asylum in case of any unexpected successes of the enemy.

Ali, on his return, seemed to have become convinced by experience of the inefficiency of any measures either of force or coercion to subdue the inhabitants of the mountain. A few skirmishes occurred on his attempting to re-occupy his former positions, but almost immediately after, his former agent, Kitzo Botzaris, was dispatched on a fresh embassy with proposals for peace. The only stipulations which he required, previous to entering into a lasting treaty, were permission to erect a fortress within their district, in which Botzaris was to reside as governor with a garrison of forty of his own soldiers, and the immediate banishment of Foto Tzavellas from Suli. The admiration of the people had latterly been withdrawn from the heroic valour of this distinguished soldier, and seemed to have centred exclusively in Samuel the caloyer; their provisions were already beginning to be exhausted; their ammunition was almost entirely ex-

pended; and, to their eternal disgrace, they acceded to the base proposal of the vizir. Tzavellas was summoned to attend a meeting of the captains, at which they declared to him the terms offered by Ali, and required him at least for a time to withdraw from amongst them. Tzavellas listened to their request, "rather in sorrow than in anger;" he tried to remonstrate, but in vain; and then denouncing, in the boldest terms, the perfidy of the Pacha, and foretelling the misery which could not fail to ensue from their proceedings, he bade farewell to the assembly, set fire to his house, that it might never be profaned by the foot of a stranger, and having placed his sister Chaïdo for safety in the fortress of Agia-Paraskevi, he left the mountain with a few of his attached soldiers, and took the road to Chortia, a village about six miles distant.*

Scarcely had Tzavellas been dismissed from the councils of his people, when Ali, calculating that his resentment must be bitterly inflamed against his countrymen, attempted to seduce the exiled chieftain to his interests, and directed Botzaris to suspend all farther negotiations with the Greeks. Failing, however, in

* Perevos, v. ii. p. 6. Dufey, v. i. p. 128. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 175. Carrel, p. 219. Villemain, p. 250. Hughes, v. ii. p. 165. Fauriel, v. i. p. 263.

A.D.
1803.

this, he sought through his means to obtain at least more favourable terms with the Suliots than those which he had already proposed, but here he was again unsuccessful; the stern patriot refused even to confer with him on the subject, till, impelled by the entreaties of his friends, he was prevailed on to repair to Joannina. Here he rejected with firmness every tempting overture of the vizir, in which his personal advantage was concerned, and opposed every offer which seemed hostile to the interests of Suli; and when Ali finally presumed to propose to him undisguisedly the surrender of the fortresses, he modestly replied, that he had no more influence or authority to effect such a measure than the meanest serf on the mountain.* The Pacha next endeavoured to prevail on him to withdraw his own family and clan from the midst of the Suliots; but this, he said, could only be done by their own individual consent; were he permitted, he added, to consult with his friends, he conceived it not impossible that an accommodation might be effected between them and the vizir; and Ali consented that he should make the trial, on the terms of his solemnly promising, in the event either of his failure or success, to return to Joannina. Now fully confirmed in his pre-

* Perevos, v. ii. p. 9.

vious conviction of the utter falsehood and perfidy of any proposals emanating from the Pacha, he repaired with all haste to the hills, where his first and only care was to paint in his true colours the monster with whom they had to do, and to implore his countrymen to listen to no terms which did not guarantee to them the possession of their villages and strong holds, their perfect independence, and the unshackled enjoyment of their liberty. The Suliots, convinced at last of the justice of his warning advices, resolved to abide by his counsel and put an end to all negotiation with the tyrant. But it was in vain that they implored Tzavellas to remain amongst them, and offered to rebuild his dwelling and replace him in the chief command of their forces; he listened for a moment with a longing heart to their entreaties, but his honour was pledged to the Pacha, and, like a second Regulus, he bade a heroic farewell to his family, tore himself from their tears and embraces, and returned to the city of his enemies, where Ali, already informed of his proceedings, seized him as he entered, loaded him with irons, and cast him into the dungeons of the fortress.*

A.D.
1803.

The summer of 1803 had now arrived; the May.

* Perevos, v. ii. p. 11. Dufey, v. i. p. 133. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 177. Fauriel, p. 265. Carrel, p. 223.

A.D.
1803.

surrender of Suli seemed to its enemies still doubtful and distant, when an unexpected incident served to brighten the hopes of the Pacha, and to expedite the ruin of the unfortunate patriots. Hitherto the Porte had regarded with a jealous eye the attempts of Ali to exterminate the Suliots, since they could not esteem as rebels those who never failed to pay their stipulated tribute, and acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan. A French corvette, the *Arabe*, sent, as it was said, by Napoleon, then First Consul, but more likely fitted out by some private speculator, touched about this time at Athens, Maina, and Parga, and exchanged ammunition with the Greeks for oil, and the other productions of their country. From this vessel the Suliots had obtained 3000 lbs. of gunpowder, and 6000 lbs. of lead. This incident was without delay reported by Ali at Constantinople, in such terms as to rouse the indignation of the Divan against those who thus presumed to furnish military stores to a people who were in arms against the constituted authorities of the Porte; they instantly issued a firman approving, in the strongest terms, of the previous proceedings of Ali, and urging him to forego no exertion which could expedite the destruction of the devoted tribe. Armed with this powerful

document he made fresh levies of troops, replaced and strengthened the blockading cordon round Suli, and marching all his forces to the banks of the Acheron, prepared by one resistless effort to terminate the disgracefully protracted war.* The Suliots met his first onset with equally augmented vigour; they assaulted and blew up one of the forts erected by the Turks at Villa, and destroyed in the ruins 200 of the garrison; they made nightly attacks upon their encampments, and intercepted and carried to the hills their supplies of ammunition and provisions. By the advice of Samuel the caloyer, however, they soon ceased to act on the offensive, and resolved to hold themselves quietly within their entrenchments, and await the miraculous dispersion of their enemies, over whose camp he assured them the destroying angel was about to pass. Notwithstanding these fanatic orders of the gloomy visionary, Suli, provided as it was against any immediate attacks, might have continued to resist and have wearied out the fresh forces of the Pacha, as it had already done his previous levies; but the gold of Ali had at last succeeded in producing treachery amongst them,

A.D.
1803.

* Bartholdy, v. ii. p. 279. Hughes, v. ii. p. 159. Faurel, v. i. p. 265. Life of Ali Pacha, p. 183. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 178. Perevos, v. ii. p. 12. Dufey, v. i. p. 133.

A.D.
1803. and the crime of one individual involved the destruction of his race.

The traitor was Pilio Gusi, who consented, for a reward of ten purses and the liberation of his son, who was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, to conduct 200 Turks under the command of Kitzo Botzaris to Suli, and quarter them during the night in his own house; on the following morning Veli Pacha was to make a simultaneous attack on the outposts of the Suliots, and whilst they hurried to protect them, the party concealed in the dwelling of Gusi were to take possession of the village thus left without defenders. The plan was but too successfully executed. On the morning of the 26th of September, 1803, o.s. Veli set out for Suli about day-break, and encompassed the position on all sides; it contained at the moment but fifty individuals fit to bear arms, the remainder being enclosed with Samuel at the fort of Agia-Paraskevi; a brief but decisive struggle ensued; the Greeks were driven from every point, and after a desperate conflict maintained with determined bravery, they were at last compelled to retreat towards the position occupied by the monk. All was not yet, however, lost, and the village might still have been preserved had the besotted caloyer permitted the garrison under his

command to rally forth and attack the enemy ; this, however, he sternly forbade ; Veli entered Suli in triumph, garrisoned it with his ablest forces, and took possession at the same time of the adjoining villages of Avarico, and Samoniva, the inhabitants on his approach having retreated to Gkiaffa.* This latter, together with the fortress occupied by Samuel, was all that now remained to them, and these they prepared to defend with the desperate determination of bereavement and despair.

A.D.
1808.

Tzavellas, in the mean time, had been released from his dungeon by the vizir, on the terms of his inducing all his family and clan to depart from Suli and settle in some distant province ; and having left his wife and children at Joannina as hostages for his fidelity, he once more returned to his home. Here his intention was to send off all the women, the old men, and children of the republic, who were to be placed under the protection of the Parguinots ; and thus disencumbered of those whose presence in the midst of danger was a perpetual source of anxiety, and whose support was a heavy tax upon their scanty stores, he proposed to renew the war with fresh energy and vigour. In pursuance of this design he

Nov.

* Fauriel, v. i. p. 268. Perevos, v. i. p. 22. Hughes, v. ii. p. 167. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 188. Dufey, v. i. p. 143.

A.D.
1803.

solicited permission from Veli Pacha to repair to Parga, under the pretence of preparing an asylum for his friends; he obtained the necessary passport and set out without delay, but his negociation with the primates was tedious and difficult, in consequence of the necessity of communicating with the Ionian islands, whither they wished him to dispatch the refugees. A fortnight was thus permitted to elapse ere his arrangements were concluded; and when he again hurried back to Gkiaffa, he discovered that in the interval all had been lost. Botzaris and Kutzonikas had availed themselves of his absence to effect fresh treasons; the tribe of the Tzervati had fled at their suggestion from Gkiaffa, those who remained were wavering and discontented, his own proceedings had been disclosed to Veli, and no other resource remained for him than to fly from the village and shut himself up with the caloyer at Agia-Paraskevi.* Here Ali, enraged at his frequent disappointments, appeared a few days after with an imposing force, and summoned him to surrender. Tzavellas returned a refusal, and issuing from the fortress, accompanied by his sister Chaïdo and about 150 of his clan, they sustained an action with the Turks, of seven

* Bartholdy, v. ii. p. 286. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 193. Carrel, p. 223. Fauriel, v. i. p. 271. Dufey, v. i. p. 147.

hours' continuance, till their muskets becoming, by the frequent firing and the heat of the sun, too warm to bear reloading, they flung them aside, and charging the enemy sword in hand, compelled them to retire, leaving 700 dead on the field and carrying off vast numbers of the wounded.*

A.D.
1803.

This was the last victory of the Suliots; the position which they occupied was untenable, their supply of water was cut off by the Pacha, and in seven days, after the most excruciating sufferings from thirst, the little band of Tzavellas was forced to capitulate: his first emotion was to endeavour to force a passage through the enemy, or to perish in the attempt; but this the presence of the women and the aged rendered impossible. The garrison pro-

* During the interval between this action and the surrender of Tzavellas, Emineh, the gentle wife of the ferocious Pacha, expired suddenly, in consequence of the violence which he had exercised towards her. She had presumed, on learning the heroic defence of the Suliots, to plead for mercy for them from Ali. Enraged at what he deemed treachery in his own household, his indignation knew no bounds; when he heard her request, he drew a pistol from his breast and discharged it at her head; the ball failed to take effect, but the terror of the scene proved fatal to its amiable victim; she died the same evening, whilst Ali, still chafed with the excitement of the morning, was forcing his way into her apartment. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 197.

A.D. posed to the Pacha the terms of their sur-
1803. render; they made no farther stipulation than the security of their lives, their arms, and their property; and Veli having granted hostages for the observance of the treaty, the capitulation was signed on the morning of the 12th
Dec. of December, 1803, o.s. and the same evening the vanquished patriots bade a long farewell to their native mountains, and took the road to Parga. The march was conducted by Tzavellas, Dimo Drako, and Zervas, who led with them a body of about 2000 men; a second division, consisting of half that number, were persuaded by Kutzonikas and Kitzo Botzaris to retire with them to Tzalongo, a village situated about seven leagues to the south on the banks of the Acheron; and a third, containing twenty families, settled at Reniassa, a few miles north of the Ambracian Gulf.

As Tzavellas and his party retired, Samuel the caloyer, with five companions, remained in the fortress in order to conclude the surrender by delivering it into the hands of the enemy, and receiving the amount which had been agreed to be given for the quantity of ammunition which it contained. Two Turks and a secretary of the Pacha were present to conclude the purchase. "And now," said the latter to the monk, as he paid down the

stipulated sum, "what punishment, caloyer, do you imagine the vizir has prepared for you, since you have thus foolishly entrusted yourself within his power?"* "He can inflict none," said Samuel, "that can have any terrors for one who has long hated life, and who thus despises death;" at the same instant he fired his pistol into the case of gun-powder on which he was seated, a terrific explosion ensued, and the monk, the Turk, and his attendants were buried in the ruins. One of the Greeks, who had been posted at the door during the conference, alone escaped with life; but of the body of the heroic caloyer no vestige was ever discovered.†

A.D.
1803.

Ali had at length acquired the last disputed point of that territory which he had so long and so ardently coveted; but he well knew that he could never enjoy undisturbed possession of Suli so long as a single Suliot existed to attempt its recovery. The occupation of the deserted villages was but a portion of his

* Ali had sworn to flay him alive, and stuff his skin as a curiosity. Hughes, v. i. p. 168.

† Perevos, v. ii. p. 36. Villemain, p. 25. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 204. Bartholdy, v. ii. p. 286. Hughes, v. ii. p. 168. Fauriel, v. i. p. 274. See also No. vii. of the War-songs of the Suliots, in M. Fauriel's Collection, v. i. p. 300. Dufey, v. i. p. 159.

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scheme of ambition ; he halted but so long as was requisite to place garrisons throughout the conquered districts, and then hastily dispatched the strength of his army to overtake and exterminate the fugitive Greeks. Fortunately Tzavellas conducted the march of his division with such rapidity that they had gained the vicinity of Parga ere they were surprised by their pursuers. A brief skirmish ensued, the Parguinots rushed to the assistance of their allies, and the Turks were compelled to retreat with a trifling booty, which they had wrested from a straggling party of the exiles.*

The troops returned hastily to Suli, and after a short repose set out in pursuit of the second division, which had retired to Tzalongo with Kutzonikas and Kitso Botzaris. The village in which they had taken up their quarters consisted of a monastery and a few houses seated, like Suli, on the summit of a cliff which overhung the Acheron, and was accessible only by one narrow and precipitous pathway. On the first advance of the enemy, the traitors, too lately awakened to a sense of their crime, and terrified at the approach of that retributive justice, with which the suborners of treason are generally the first to visit its agents, prepared to make a desperate stand against their per-

* Perevos, v. ii. p. 38.

fidious assailants. They quartered the women and the aged in the monastery and houses, and for two days succeeded in repelling the enemy from the pass which led to their retreat; unprepared, however, for an assault so unexpected, their ammunition was quickly expended, their provisions were exhausted, and the enemy had possession of the path which led to the springs whence the monastery was supplied with water. In this awful crisis the women of the tribe were the first to perceive the hopelessness of their situation, and sixty of them, taking their children in their arms, repaired to a lofty cliff which overhung the bed of the Acheron: the river, foaming through its rocky channels, rolled beneath them, but at such a depth that the noise of its current could be but dimly heard from the towering precipice where they were assembled. Here, after a brief consultation, they embraced their infants, and imprinting the last kiss upon their innocent lips, they hurled them into the abyss below; then advancing to the verge of the precipice, and joining hands, they commenced one of their national dances to the chanting of a wild and melancholy dirge, and each, as her turn approached, sprang from the beetling rock, till the last of the band had perished.

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Towards midnight the remainder of the tribe

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prepared to make a last effort for existence; they descended the mountain in three divisions, the women and the wounded in the centre of each, and in the front the captains and soldiers, who with one hand led on their children, and with the other clasped their swords. They traversed the camp of the enemy, and after a furious struggle succeeded in gaining the valley; but their escape was but temporary, the Turks, dispersing in their pursuit, the greater number perished in their flight; and mothers, during that fearful night, are said to have stifled their children in order to prevent their cries from attracting the enemy to their hiding-place. Of 800, who left Tzalongo, scarcely 150 succeeded in reaching Parga; and a like number, being sent prisoners to Joannina, were permitted to retire to Vourgareli, a village at the foot of Mount Djumerca, between the rivers Artá and Aspropotamo, (the Aracthus and Achelous,) whither a large body of their countrymen had repaired some time before with the intention of passing into the mountains of Ætolia, and joining the Armatoli of Palæopoulo.*

From Tzalongo the Pacha's forces were con-

* Perevos, v. ii. p. 41. Bartholdy, v. ii. p. 289. Hughes, v. ii. p. 167. Carrel, p. 227. Fauriel, v. ii. p. 277. Villemain, p. 251.

ducted by Youseph the Arab, to Reniassa, where the widows and children of about twenty families had retired on the destruction of Suli. They commenced the slaughter of the defenceless creatures without mercy or delay, nor did they meet with even a show of resistance save from one heroic woman, Despo, the widow of a Suliot called Botzis, who, with her daughters and grand-children, defended themselves in a tower called the Kula of Dimula.* Their fate, however, was inevitable: she called her family around her, and proposed to them the alternative of submitting to the enemy or dying by their own hands. They unanimously chose the latter, and Despo, ranging them in a circle round a case of gunpowder, applied the match with her own hand, and completed the holocaust of her children.†

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There now remained only the refugees of

* The party consisted of Despo the mother, her two daughters Taso and Kitzia, Sofo and Panagio the widows of her sons, and six children, three of whom were girls. Perevos, v. ii. p. 43.

† Perevos, v. ii. p. 42. Dufey, v. i. p. 164. Fauriel, v. i. p. 279. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 207. Hughes, v. ii. p. 168. This heroism of Despo has been celebrated in the songs of the Suliots. One in the collection of M. Fauriel records it with dramatic minuteness.

Ἀχὺς βαρὺς, ἀκούεται, πολλὰ τουφέκια πεφτουν, &c.

v. i. p. 103.

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Vourgareli, and thither the arms of the Pacha were promptly directed. These, however, on the first news of the affair of Reniassa, had retired, by the advice of Kitso Botzaris, who had joined them after the defeat at Tzalongo, to a monastery named Seltzo, on the banks of the Achelous, about eight hours distant from their first position. Here they were attacked

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in the spring of 1804 by an army of 7000 men, chosen, to sharpen their cruelty, from the friends and relations of those who had fallen in the wars of Suli, and commanded by two of Ali's most ferocious lieutenants, Hago Muchardar and Bekir Tziogaduri.* Offensive measures were, however, still ineffectual even against the scattered remnants of this warlike race; the Turks were worsted in every encounter, and it was only after a siege of three months that they succeeded in expelling them from their quarters, and bringing the matter to a decisive issue. On the 20th of April, o. s.

May

they came to a general engagement on the heights above the Achelous; the Turks had possession of the rising ground, and their impetuous onset soon threw the Suliots into disorder. They were but 1000 in number, and of these only 300 were capable of bearing arms, the remainder consisting of women and

* Giocatore, so surnamed from his addiction to play.

little children. Of the entire, only fifty-five, amongst whom was Kitso Botzaris, succeeded in escaping, and made their way to Parga;*

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* These, and the other Suliots who had previously taken refuge at Parga, passed over, after a little delay, to Corfu, where they were hospitably received by the Russians, and quartered at the town of Lefkimo and the island of Paxo. But deprived of their wonted pursuits, and possessed of no trades or professions whereby to gain a livelihood, they were for a length of time beset by all the miseries of indigence and disease. Towards the close of the year 1804 they were invited by Hassan Tzapari, of Margariti, to return to Epirus, and lend their assistance in a war which he and some of the neighbouring Beys were about to commence against their old enemy Ali Pacha. They complied on the terms of being first assisted by him in recovering Suli, but in this they were deceived: Hassan led them to the conquest, not of their native mountains, but of his own villages, which had been wrested from him by the Pacha; and disgusted with their treatment, and finding all chance of recapturing Suli hopeless, they abandoned his service, and withdrew to Parga. In 1805 they were again invited to the Ionian Islands by the Russian General Anrep, and with about 500 other Greeks formed into a corps of light chasseurs, in which the distinguished Suliots were appointed commissioned officers. Tzavellas and his mother, Mosco, were both enrolled, the one as Major, the other as a Captain, but they shortly after resigned, and Photo, having passed over to Joannina, made the *προσκύνησις*,† or act of submission, to Ali, and received the command of a body of Armatoli, in

† See vol. i. of this History, c. xi. p. 419.

A.D. the others, hemmed in by the river, were
1804. butchered by the Turks, with the exception
of about 200, who cut their own throats, in

which service he died, in 1809, at the age of thirty-six.* In 1806, during the rupture between Russia and France, the Albanian regiment accompanied the former to Naples, and after the peace of Tilsit, in 1807, it was transferred to the French, who took possession of Corfu, and was placed under the orders of Colonel Minot. Finally, when the English had got possession of the Republic of the Seven Islands, its leaders swore allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, but made a reservation in favour of Russia as the only country against which they would never serve. The chief command was then transferred to Colonel Church, an officer whose name will ever be honourably associated with the history of Modern Greece; and Chrestaky, a Chimariot, and Theodore Colocotroni, the Moreot Kleft, held commissions as Majors. The corps continued in existence till 1814, when it was disbanded by Sir Thomas Maitland, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian republic. The officers and soldiers received each one year's pay, and the latter, accustomed to no other profession than that of arms, were induced to pass over into Epirus and enter into the service of Ali, who, already trembling for the security of his dominions, in consequence of the determination of the Sultan Mahmoud to destroy all the powerful Pachas of his empire, was now as anxious to conciliate as he had once been to

* Chaïdo, sister to Tzavellas, was attached to the expedition of the Russian Admiral Siniavin, and acted with distinguished bravery at the attack on Tenedos, in 1807. Rizo, 194.

the midst of the enemy, or plunged into the impetuous current of the Achelous, rather than fall into their hands.*

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These affairs accomplished, Ali set out in person to inspect the fortifications of Suli, and to

destroy the Armatolics. Their subsequent exploits will be detailed elsewhere.

Kitzo Botzaris, I may add here, remained in the service of the French at Corfu till 1813, in spite of all the solicitations and offers of Ali Pacha to induce him to return to Epirus. His affections, however, were still centred in his deserted home; and it was remarked by his companions, that the melancholy, which preyed upon his spirits, seemed never for a moment to abandon him. By them he was rather pitied than condemned; his early errors were the result of his father's crime, and his later heroism had amply expiated the faults of his youth. At length, about the time I have mentioned, he repaired privately to Arta, with his son Marco, the Leonidas of Modern Greece. The object of his visit was said by some to be the recovery of a valuable booty which he had concealed at the period of his flight from Vourgareli, but his real design was never known. In his voyage he had been watched by the spies of Ali Pacha, the house where he halted at Arta was beset by them on the night of his arrival, and Botzaris, as he sat at supper, was murdered by the assassins of the tyrant. The regret of his countrymen for his death, and their admiration of his valour, are recorded in one of the Kleftic Ballads preserved in the Collection of M. Fauriel, v. ii. p. 344. Hughes, v. ii. p. 169. Perevos, v. ii. pp. 43—94. Rizo, pp. 197, 206, 246. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 247, &c.

* Perevos, v. ii. p. 48. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 211. Carrel, p. 229. Dufey, v. i. p. 167.

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preside at the execution of the last victims who had been captured by his troops. For eight days the carnage was incessant, and by the light of the conflagration which reduced the villages of the Selleide to ruins, nothing was to be seen but racks, gibbets, executioners, and victims.* One favourite mode of torture was to force gunpowder into the ears of the captives and tear open their cheeks by exploding it; the women were violated and hurled from the rocks into the stream of the Acheron, the children were sold for the harems of the Turks, and the tenth of the prisoners were assigned as slaves to the executioners of their friends. As his appetite for blood began to pall, the Vizir, to change the scene, returned with the remnant of his prisoners to Joannina, where he renewed the work of torture. Impalements and slow fires, at which the agonized wretches were consuming, were to be encountered at every turning; the Pacha himself directed and assisted at every execution, and when fatigue compelled him to retire, a Suliote, whose skull had been stripped of the flesh, was compelled by whips to pace before the windows of his palace, in order to glut the wearied monster with his torments.†

* Life of Ali Pacha, p. 139.

† Three children, of extraordinary beauty, a girl and her

The destruction of a tribe which had for so many years defied the utmost exertions of the most powerful Pacha of the Ottoman empire, was regarded by the Sultan with marked satisfaction. Ali immediately received the congratulations of the Divan, and was honoured with the appointment of Roumeli Valisi, an office of the highest authority and trust.* Situated as the Porte then was in its political relations with Russia, all hopes of consolidating his western frontier being for the moment extinguished, Ali devoted the next few years to the aggrandisement of his power and the augmentation of his wealth, by the exercise of his new authority amongst the turbulent tribes of Macedonia and Thrace. Early in 1804 he marched an army of 80,000 men to the north of Roumelia, dispersed and destroyed the bands of Bulgarian and Sclavonian banditti, who ravaged the vicinity of Philippopolis, and executed the Pachas of Uuskup and Smocovo by whom they were protected. An insurrec-

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two brothers, were given up as a sacrifice to a band of frenzied dervishes. They conducted them to Calo Tchesmè, the ordinary place of execution, a short distance from Joannina, where the youngest boy, still almost an infant, was beheaded beside his sister, who shared a similar fate; and the eldest, scarcely fourteen years of age, was torn to pieces by a bear.

* See vol. i. of this History, c. ix. p. 281. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 216.

A.D.
1804. tion among his troops excited, it was said, by his enemies in the Divan, compelled him hastily to repass the Vardar and return to Joannina, where he arrived loaded with the contributions which he had exacted from the rayahs of Roumelia.

The reduction of the Klefts and Armatoli throughout his dominions next occupied his attention. With these he had maintained a perpetual war since the period of his appointment to the office of Dervendgi Bachi; but hitherto his efforts to destroy the system had only tended to confirm and strengthen it. The independent chiefs, supported by the arms and influence of the Suliots, had been enabled through them to maintain successively a correspondence with the Venetians, the French and the Russians in the Ionian Islands, and from these they had been regularly supplied with ammunition and other requisites. This resource was now effectually cut off, and the Pacha, aware of their insulated position, prepared to attack them on a more favourable footing than hitherto. Previously to renewing any extensive operations against them, he endeavoured by negotiation to induce them to accede to an advantageous peace; and a congress was summoned at Carpenisi, in Ætolia, where the principal leaders assembled to meet him, each

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1805.

attended by the soldiers of his clan. The conference terminated fruitlessly; the demands of the Pacha were haughty and unreasonable, and the Klefts, astonished at their own strength, of which this assembly seemed to have given them the first adequate conception, were resolute in maintaining their independence. The congress was broken up without coming to any definite understanding, and each captain, retiring to his kleftochori, prepared to resist the encroachments of the tyrant and repel force by force.*

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A few months after this interview, the Kleftic chieftains were solicited to repair secretly to Santa Maura, where a confederacy was already organized, encouraged by the Russian residents, for the purpose of exciting a general insurrection of his Christian subjects against the Vizir of Epirus.† They hastened to the appointed rendezvous, but already the vigilant Pacha had intimation of their proceedings: one by one he succeeded in intercepting their emissaries and cutting off their communications with the main land; and, finally, a body of several thousand troops being quartered along the coast to observe and counteract their movements, their attempt was for the

* Carrel, p. 230. Fauriel, v. i. p. lxxviii.

† Fauriel, v. i. pp. 167, 261. Carrel, p. 231.

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present completely thwarted. The conspiracy ended without accomplishing any important object, and its only beneficial result was the co-operation and understanding which it produced amongst the various leaders whom it had attracted together.

In the course of its proceedings, a communication had been opened with the disaffected subjects of the Sultan in every district, from the Morea to the mountains of Bulgaria; and on the dispersion of the league, at the close of the year 1805, a body of Greeks under the command of Niko Tzaras, one of the most renowned of the Armatoli, set out on an expedition to the north, where they designed to join the forces of Czerni George, the Servian chief, who was then in arms against the Porte. Tzaras was a Thessalian of Alassona, and the descendant of a family distinguished in the traditions of the Klefts: he had received as liberal an education as his country could then afford at one of the convents of his native valley, and would probably have become a merchant at some of the Mediterranean ports had not the tyranny of a neighbouring Pacha destroyed the fortunes of his family, and forced his father to betake himself to a life of plunder and warfare in the mountains of Thessaly. His career was, however, but brief; he was

killed shortly after in an encounter with the Albanians, and Niko assuming the command of his retainers, chose Ossa and Olympus as the scene of his future exploits. Of all his contemporaries none had rendered himself more obnoxious than Niko Tzaras to the Pacha of Epirus, but every attempt to subdue or entrap him proved unavailing; and it was only when his own choice of a less adventurous life induced him for a time to abandon the hills, that he consented to make his submission to Ali and reside peaceably at the village of Alassona. But this determination was merely temporary, he soon grew weary of inaction, and in 1804 he again resumed his tophaic and reassembled his band. He was present at the congress of Carpenisi and the conference of Santa Maura, and it was in consequence of a resolution formed at the latter that he proceeded, on his return to Alassona, to recruit his forces and direct his march towards Wallachia.

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He reached the Karasou* in safety, and was about to cross the wooden bridge of Pravi when his passage towards it was disputed by a body of 3000 Turks, who had been stationed to intercept his march. The conqueror of Italy acquired scarcely greater honours at Lodi and

* The Strymon.

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Arcola than did Niko Tzaras at the bridge of Pravi. Enclosed in a position where they could neither advance nor retreat, the lives of his 300 soldiers were in the blades of their yataghans; for three successive days they maintained the unequal struggle, till their provisions, their water, and, last of all, their ammunition was expended. There remained no other alternativè than to attempt a passage at the point of the sword, and at sunrise on the fourth morning Tzaras commenced the onset. His soldiers, flinging aside their tophaic and drawing each his sabre, rushed furiously towards the river; the Turks, panic-struck at their impetuosity, yielded and left the passage for an instant unguarded; that instant was sufficient, the Greeks gained the bridge and passed it unimpeded, then severing the chains, by which it was suspended on the northern side, they hurled it into the stream of the Karasou, and with a loud shout of triumph pursued their way to the north.* The expedition was, however, fruitless; the passage of Tzaras was effectually stopped by the Ottoman guards at the defiles of Rhodope, and he was compelled, after a perilous retreat, to return

* Carrel, p. 232. Amongst the Kleftic Ballads of M. Fauriel will be found one spirited song on the victory of Niko Tzaras at the bridge of Pravi; v. i. p. 192.

to Allassona, where he arrived at the moment when Ali was recommencing, with unprecedented rigour, his hostilities against the Klefts.*

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This war was conducted, on the part of the Greeks, with infinitely more spirit, and to greater advantage, than any previous; the bands of the various chieftains co-operated enthusiastically in their measures for mutual protection, and after twelve months of uninterrupted skirmishing, Ali was at last compelled to purchase peace, and honourable terms were offered to the most distinguished of his opponents who chose to enter into his service. A few only were utterly defeated and compelled to surrender, or disperse in search of

* Finding on his return that the Armatolic, hereditary in his family, had been bestowed by Ali on another chieftain, Niko Tzaras abandoned Allassona and became a pirate on the eastern coasts of Thessaly, where his three vessels, rigged with black canvass, were long a source of as much terror to the seamen of the Gulf of Salonica as his predatory expeditions had been to the natives of Olympus. He was at length killed, in 1807, in an engagement with a party of Albanians who had attacked his men when on shore for fresh water; he had repulsed the assailants, but was struck down by a bullet from a concealed enemy, when returning after the skirmish to his vessel. His comrades bore him bleeding to his "black ship," where he expired a few days after, and was buried by his pallikaris in the island of Scyros. Fauriel, v. i. p. 189.

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new asylums in the event of their rejecting the conditions of the vizir. Amongst the latter was Palæopoulo, the former ally of the Pacha. After the discomfiture of his clan he wandered for a time amidst the wild mountains of Ætolia, and after enduring every extremity of privation and hardship, he finally retired to Constantinople, where he was received and protected by a few generous inhabitants of the Phanar. The majority of the Klefts, however, still remained independent and unsubdued; and vast numbers of hardy spirits, allured by their example, or impelled by their own sufferings, were daily flying from the lowlands to join their forces in the hills. Thus at the termination of the campaign, notwithstanding the dispersion of a few warlike bands and the defection of those who had accepted the terms of the Pacha, the proportion of resistant heroes thus forced into brigandage and rebellion, was perhaps more than equal to those who had appeared in arms at its commencement.*

The attention of Ali was, however, attracted to another point ere he had leisure to fully prosecute his designs against them; and Youseph the Arab, a wretch equal to

* Rizo, p. 165. Life of Ali Pacha, p. 171. Pouqueville, v. i. pp. 229, 248, 269. Carrel, p. 234. Fauriel, v. i. Introd. p. lxxiii. lxxvii.

his master in atrocity, was deputed to observe their movements and carry on the war. Under the savage rule of this monster the villages of Pindus and Agrafa, the chief strongholds of the independent Armatoli, were widowed of inhabitants; and the popular songs of the Greeks abound with details and execrations of his cruelty and crimes. By measures such as these, Ali had so far succeeded in enlarging and consolidating his territory, that at the commencement of the year 1806, his dominion may be said to have extended over the entire of ancient Hellas, with the exception of a few isolated towns and the provinces of Bœotia and Attica; and even the latter, in fact, might be considered as virtually submitted to him, since their vaivodes and rulers were creatures for whom his interest had procured their appointments.

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1805.A.D.
1806.

In the mean time matters had been rapidly tending to a rupture between Russia and the Porte. On the assumption of the imperial dignity by Napoleon, the Sultan had been the first to congratulate him on his enrolment amongst the legitimates of Europe; and the Emperor, ever prompt to improve an advantage, lost no time in returning his expressions of good-will through his ambassador Sebastiani, who forthwith replaced Marshal Brune as

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minister at Constantinople. It had for some time before been an important object with Napoleon to destroy the triple alliance of the English, the Russians, and the Turks in the Mediterranean; and the seizure of Malta by the former had been so represented to Paul I. who had lately accepted of the Grand Mastership of the Order, that he was readily induced to accede to his wishes. A complete revolution was instantly effected in the policy of the cabinet of St. Petersburg; and the Czar, who but two years before had armed for the expulsion of an invading army from one of the remote provinces of the Sultan, now waited but for a favourable pretext to commence hostilities and attack him in his capital. An insult offered by the Turkish mob to his minister Tamara, when visiting the mosque of the Sultan Solyman, was gladly embraced as an occasion of quarrel, and an immediate rupture with the Porte was only prevented by the assassination of the unfortunate monarch when on the eve of proclaiming hostilities. Alexander, his successor, adopted a line of politics different from that pursued by his father; on a proper explanation of the affair having been offered by the Divan, he contented himself with recalling Tamara, on the grounds of his having accepted presents from the Sultan, which might

have borne the appearance of compromising a national insult, and Italinski being dispatched to replace him at Constantinople, amicable relations were restored between Russia and the Porte. The design of Napoleon was thus effectually thwarted, nor did any opportunity occur of renewing the attempt till the exertions of Sebastiani served unexpectedly to effect its accomplishment. The Divan, at the moment of his arrival, was divided into two parties, favourable to the several interests of England and Russia; the Grand Vizir, the Capitan Pacha, and a large proportion of the other ministers, together with the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, were attached to the cause of the latter; whilst that of the former was chiefly supported by the friends of the Reis Effendi, who had been Secretary of Legation at London in 1797, and was a violent partisan of the English.* By the intrigues of Sebastiani, the English faction were speedily ousted, and replaced by individuals favourable to France; and it only remained to remove the Russian party in the same manner, and attach the Divan undividedly to the interests of Napoleon. The brilliant successes of the Emperor, the capture of Vienna, and the victory of Austerlitz, served to facilitate the task of his

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1806.

* Rizo, p. 186.

A.D.
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ambassador, and he had little difficulty in inducing the Sultan, in 1805, to infringe the treaty of Yassi,* and depose the Hospodars Ipsilanti and Morousi, who were known to be friendly to Russia, in order to confer their governments on the Prince Charles Callimachi and Aleko Sowzo, who had espoused the party of the French. An effectual breach was thus accomplished between the courts of St. Petersburg and Constantinople, and the Russian Emperor protested instantly against this infringement of the constitution of the two principalities. The Sultan, alarmed at his remonstrance, hastened to remedy the injury and restore the Hospodars; but Alexander, already dissatisfied with the disposition towards France manifested by the Divan, rejected his submissions, and in November 1806 took military possession of the two Hospodariats. Temporizing measures were no longer available, and in the December following war was proclaimed against Russia by the Porte.†

On the first intimation of these proceedings and the certainty of an approaching rupture, Ali Pacha hastened to occupy the Venetian towns on the coast; he marched without delay upon Prevesa, drove out the Ottoman resident, Ab-

* See vol. ii. of this History, c. xii. n. p. 28.

† December 17, 1806.

dulla Bey, and garrisoned the fortress with his own soldiers. Contrary to the treaty of 1800, he next proceeded to despoil the principal inhabitants of their property and houses, which he conferred upon his followers; and having demolished two-thirds of the town, laid the foundations of a mosque, and commenced building a palace for his future residence, he retired to attack the other positions. Butrinto and Vonnitza shared the same fate with Prevesa, and Parga narrowly escaped destruction by the timely arrival of a reinforcement of Russian troops.* This fresh disappointment in gaining possession of a spot which the Pacha had so long coveted, was galling for the moment; but his irritation was in some degree allayed by the prospect of securing some of the Ionian Islands in the approaching struggle. His designs on this head were promptly communicated to and warmly seconded by Sebastiani; he procured him immediate supplies of ammunition and military stores, French engineers were dispatched to his assistance, and for the more complete extension of his power the pachalics of the Morea and Lepanto were procured for his sons Veli and Mouctar, by the interests of the French minister.† Under such favourable

A.D.
1806.

* Hughes, v. ii. p. 177.

† Pouqueville, v. i. p. 254. Life of Ali Pacha, p. 174.

A.D.
1806. auspices his preparations for attacking the islands proceeded with all assiduity and dispatch; the fortresses of Epirus were repaired, provisioned, and garrisoned, and 12,000 men were assembled and in readiness to march at the first signal from the Porte or Napoleon. But ere any decisive step had been taken, the destruction of Prussia, and the subsequent losses of the Russians at Preuss-Eylau, and Friedland, had totally changed the aspect of affairs, as regarded the relations of France and the Czar. Alexander, on the defeat of his army under Bennigsen,* had been speedily disposed for peace, and at the treaty of Tilsit, in July 1807, amongst other arrangements entered into between him and Napoleon, the Ionian Republic was unreservedly transferred to the Emperor of France.†

July
7th.

The intelligence of this sinister event arrived at the moment when the vizir was preparing to quell an alarming movement amongst the Klefts of Thessaly. A remnant of the confederacy of Santa Maura had still survived amidst the mountains of Khasia, a wild and semi-civilized district between Mount Pindus and the Peneus; and the breaking out of hos-

* June 14, 1807.

† Pouqueville, v. i. p. 256. See vol. i. of this History, c. viii. p. 261.

tilities between Russia and the Porte served to infuse new spirit into the hopes of its leaders. The head of the conspiracy at this period was Enthymius Blachavas, a descendant of a family distinguished for many generations amidst the captains of the Thessalian Armatoli. As the eldest of his family, he was destined by his father for the priesthood, and the circumstances of his early education procured him amongst his companions the surname of Pappas Enthymius.* His taste, however, was directed rather to the sword than the altar; and on the decease of his father he abruptly abandoned his sacred profession, and was hailed by his younger brothers as the chief of his clan. Of all the leaders of the Armatoli none was more remarkable than Blachavas for his unparleying detestation of his tyrants, and his stern resistance of every overture made to him by the Pachas of Roumelia. His mind, too, was of a more comprehensive cast than the generality of his associates; and whilst their attention was directed solely to the maintenance of freedom in their own isolated districts, the thoughts of Enthymius had ever embraced the nobler object of emancipating Greece. In the confederacy of 1805 he had taken an influential part, and on its frustration by the Pacha, he had

A.D.
1807.

* Fauriel, v. i. p. 200.

A.D.
1807. retired into indignant solitude to brood over his disappointment and await some fresh occasion of revolt.

The Russian war occurred opportunely to gratify his ambition ; in conjunction with his brothers Demetrius and Theodore, he organized a fresh insurrection, and in the summer of 1807 raised the standard of liberty on the heights of Olympus. Various beys, agas, and governors of Northern Greece were prepared to act in concert with him, and his plans were even said to have been known and countenanced by members of the Ottoman cabinet, who were alarmed at the rapidly increasing power of the Vizir of Epirus. The rendezvous of the league was appointed at the eastern base of Mount Pindus, whence the troops of the confederacy were to descend upon the south of Thessaly, and having levied a sufficiency of troops, proceed to the attack of Joannina.

Blachavas was the first to repair to the appointed quarter ; and in the ardour of his patriotism had even taken the precaution, before the arrival of the other leaders, to send forward his brothers with the strength of his troops to occupy the position of Kastri, which commands the passes leading to Macedonia and Epirus.* In the mean time, Ali, with a

* Fauriel, v. i. p. 202.

vigilance which never slept, had penetrated his movements. A traitor, called Deli Ghianni, son to a priest of Mezzovo, had given him early intimation of the designs of the confederates, and Mouctar Pacha, with a band of 4000 Albanians, was already in possession of Kastri when the party of Demetrius arrived. A brief but decisive struggle ensued ; the Greeks were surrounded and cut to pieces, their commanders perished in the fray, and this premature destruction of his band completely crushed the hopes of Blachavas. For a time he continued as a freebooter to infest the vicinity of Mount Othrys, and having subsequently formed a connexion with some pirates of Trikkeri, he made frequent descents on the coast of Thessaly and the islands to the north of Negropont.

A.D.
1807.

On the faith of a capitulation, which promised him security of life and property, he at last surrendered to the Capitan Pacha, and was handed over to the custody of Ali. As usual, the terms of his surrender were but the toils prepared by the tyrant to entrap him ; and after being subjected in vain to every refinement of torture, in order to induce him to disclose the names of his associates, the Pacha issued final orders for his execution. "I had once met Blachavas," says M. Pouqueville, "at Milias, on Mount Pindus, in all the pride of freedom

A.D.
1807. and surrounded by his warlike companions; I saw him again, for the last time, bound to a stake in the court of the seraglio at Joannina. The rays of a burning sun fell full on his deeply-bronzed forehead, down which the sweat of agony and exhaustion was flowing in copious streams. Even in death his eye still flashed defiance; and turning on me a look more serene than that of the monster who directed his torments, he seemed to call on me to witness with what calmness a hero can die. Without a moan or a shudder he received the last blows of his executioners; and his manly limbs, severed from his body, and dragged through the streets of Joannina, showed to the terrified Greeks the remains of the last of the chieftains of Thessaly.”*

It would belong less to the present subject than to a biography of the Vizir of Epirus, to enter with minuteness into the details of his subsequent proceedings, from the arrival of General Berthier at Corfu till the period of Ali's being declared *fermanli*† by the Divan. A few circumstances only may be mentioned as immediately affecting the interests of the Greeks; the remainder merely tended to the

* Pouqueville, v. i. p. 294. Carrel, p. 237. Fauriel, v. i. p. 204.

† Outlawed.

consummation of his personal power, which finally excited the apprehensions and drew down upon him the vengeance of the Porte. On the failure of his hopes of gaining a footing in the Ionian Islands by means of France, he promptly turned his attention towards the English, who had commenced hostilities against the Porte in 1807; and one of his emissaries, a Turk of Morocco, named Seid Achmet, was privately dispatched to treat with Lord Castle-reagh, and if possible induce him to attack the French in the islands.* But the scheme, though approved of, was not acted upon by England till a later period; and it was only in 1809 that active operations were commenced against Zante, Cephalonia, Cerigo, and the smaller islands. During the progress of the various sieges and blockades by which these were successively wrested from the French, Ali contrived, without openly offending either party of the belligerents, to maintain an appearance of amity to both. The assailants were amply and readily supplied with provisions from Albania; whilst the besieged were not only informed of all the movements of their enemies, as far as reached the ears of the Pacha, but even assisted in preparing the defences of those positions where assault was

A.D.
1807.A.D.
1809.

* Hughes, v. ii. pp. 180, 185. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 257.

A.D. 1809. anticipated.* Ever sedulously attentive to his own interests, he managed at the same time to extract advantage from the circumstances of both; and profiting by the alliance and concurrence of the English, he embraced the occasion offered by the present crisis to put in execution a scheme which he had long meditated against the pachalic of Berat. Ibrahim, the governor of this province, he represented as a sworn partisan of France; and at a conference held at Missolonghi with some of the British agents, it was arranged that whilst the English pursued with vigour the reduction of the southern islands, Ali was to march to the north, and having secured by the conquest of Berat the entire coast of Epirus, he was to be prepared to co-operate with his allies in the expected siege of Corfu. No incident in the life of the Pacha serves more fully to illustrate the implacable ferocity of his character than this fatal attack on the dominions of a weak and helpless old man: it was the fulfilment of a dream of ambition and revenge which had occupied his imagination for nearly forty years of his life; since Ibrahim had obtained in marriage the daughter of Courd Pacha, to whose hand Ali had aspired in his youth, and succeeded on the death of his

* Life of Ali Pacha, p. 212. Perevos, v. ii. p. 73. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 319. Hughes, v. ii. pp. 186, 188.

father-in-law to his vacant pachalic, which had been equally coveted by his rival.* His resentment had hitherto been suppressed from year to year through motives of policy or convenience; but at length, when there remained no farther advantage to be gained by delay, he resolved at once to consummate the ruin of an individual to whose kindness and alliances he had been a frequent debtor, whose daughters had been long united in marriage to his sons, and whose upright and honourable bearing through life should have been a sufficient protection from violence and oppression in his declining age. Though dead himself to every suggestion of feeling, and callous to every sting of conscience, Ali was perfectly aware of the detestation with which his proceedings against his relative would be regarded by every honourable individual. To obviate this in some degree, the character of Ibrahim was painted in the blackest colours to the English; and in order to cloak as far as possible the Pacha's immediate interest in the affair, hostilities were commenced in the name of Omer Vriones, a man of ancient family but infamous reputation, who had been banished from Berat, but had subsequently acquired high reputation and immense wealth whilst serving against the British

A.D.
1809.A.D.
1810.

* Fauriel, v. ii. p. 1. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 27.

A.D. 1810. army in Egypt. It was in vain that Mouctar and Veli implored their father to spare their venerable kinsman, or at least to dread the vengeance of the Sultan, who would not fail to resent his injuries. Ali not only returned a contemptuous refusal to their entreaties, but ordered the immediate seizure of their wives and children, whom he confined in the fortress of the lake as hostages for the neutrality of their husbands; and Omer Vriones was forthwith dispatched to the assault of Berat with an army of 8000 men, Greeks and Albanians,* and a train of battering artillery. The feeble Pacha, unprepared and unequal to the task of defending his possessions, capitulated after a brief siege; his son was committed as a hostage to Ali, who arrived under the pretence of acting as mediator between the parties; and his wife and himself were compelled to abandon their home and retire to Avlona, whilst Vriones assumed the government of Berat.† The vizir

Sept.

* Carrel, p. 244. Hughes, v. ii. p. 187. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 314. A list of the Greeks who accompanied this expedition will be found in one of the songs in M. Fauriel's Collection, "The Capture of Berat." (*Chants Popul. &c.* v. ii. p. 4.)

† The residence of the old man at Avlona was of but short continuance. Under the pretence of his having been privy to an attack upon Epirus threatened by the French forces then acting under Marmont in Dalmatia, but which was

on the success of his expedition, lost no time in forwarding dispatches of his proceedings to the Porte, accompanied by rich presents to be distributed in the requisite quarters; he represented his services in thus crushing an European faction in the dominions of the Grand Seignor, dwelt on his devotion to the Sultan, and expressed the warmest anxiety to be still farther employed in exterminating the enemies of the Sublime Porte. His gifts secured for him a hearing, his letters afforded a pretext for forbearance, and for a time the wrongs of the unfortunate Ibrahim remained unavenged.

A.D.
1810.

Ali was now master of the entire Epiriot coast, from Durazzo to the Gulf of Arta, with the exception of Parga, which still maintained its independence, and a few inland towns of Acroceraunia, Philates, Conispolis, Argyrocastro, and Gardiki, which disputed his authority. Of these, the two latter submitted to him on

averted by the British successes in Spain, he was a second time assaulted by Ali. Totally divested of the means of defence, he abandoned Avlona and took refuge amongst the wild hills of Liapuria; here he was, however, betrayed into the hands of the Pacha, who confined him for a time in the castle of Konitza, but finally transferred him to the dungeons of Joannina, where, according to M. Pouqueville, he was finally poisoned by orders of the vizir. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 334; v. ii. p. 559. Life of Ali Pacha, p. 209. Hughes, v. ii. p. 191.

A.D.
1811. the nomination of his son Mouctar to the begler-beyship of Berat in 1811, which excited general apprehensions by seeming to mark the approval of Ali's late proceeding by the Divan; and early in the following year he turned his arms against the remainder. A.D.
1812. Argyrocastro surrendered almost without resistance on his approach, but from the Gardikiots submission alone was not sufficient; with them he had a long debt of vengeance to arrange, and the time was at last arrived to seek retribution for the sufferings of his mother and the early wrongs of Chaïnitza and himself. Their village, containing about 600 Mahometan families, was situated a few leagues to the west of Argyrocastro, in the midst of a mountainous and uncultivated district; its inhabitants, heedless of agriculture or trade, had generally subsisted as mercenaries in the troops of the neighbouring beys, and had always preserved a sort of reckless independence in their native hills, exempt from the payment of tribute to any pacha.* On the approach of Ali, in the present instance, they made preparations for a vigorous defence; the command of the town was entrusted to Demir Dost, one of their leaders, who had been an assistant of Ali in the destruction of Tchormovo, and for a time they were enabled to

* Perevos, v. ii. p. 87.

keep the army of the Pacha at bay. The forces of Ali, were, however, too numerous and resolute to be resisted; and Athanasia Vaia, an officer of the household of the tyrant, having succeeded with a party of Greeks in capturing the citadel, the town capitulated. The only terms stipulated by the tyrant were the acknowledgment of his seignory, and the surrender of upwards of sixty of the most distinguished inhabitants as hostages for the loyalty of the remainder.* With these he withdrew to Joannina, where they were confined in the monastery of Sotiras in the island of the lake; and having thus secured the chiefs of the tribe, he returned without delay to complete the immolation of Gardiki. His thirst for slaughter was whetted at the moment by the arrival of a letter from his sister, who had heard of the defeat of the detested tribe: "You are no longer worthy," said she, "the title of vizir nor the name of a brother if you hesitate to redeem the pledge sworn above the inanimate remains of my mother. If you are the son of Kamcho, you will haste to exterminate the defenders of Gardiki, and trust to my hands the punishment of its children and its females; I shall never rest on any other bed than a couch stuffed with the hair of the Gar-

A.D.
1812.Feb.
12th.

* Hughes, v. ii. p. 193. Carrel, p. 246.

A.D. 1812. dikiot women. You cannot forget the outrage of our early captivity; the hour of vengeance is at last arrived, and let our enemies disappear from the earth.”*

After an interview with Chaïnitza at Li-boovo, Ali passed on to Chendrya, a castle situated on a hill at a short distance from the right bank of the Celydnus; and here he summoned all the male inhabitants of Gardiki, from ten years old and upwards, to assemble before him, in order to conclude a perpetual amnesty and hear those arrangements which he had prepared to ensure their permanent happiness. The devoted wretches obeyed in terror. Half conscious of their impending fate, they bade a last farewell to their children, and descended from their village to prostrate themselves at the feet of the vizir. A brief conference ensued: Ali strove by feigned clemency to restore their confidence; he made many kind enquiries of the families of such of them as he had formerly known; spoke largely of his intended beneficence to Gardiki, and at length adjourned the assembly, desiring them to withdraw to an adjoining caravanserai, and there await the issue of his deliberations. The khan to which they repaired was a quadrangular enclosure, occasionally occupied by cattle,

* Pouqueville, v. i. p. 350.

and situated in a plain still known by the name of "The haunt of the wild oxen." The Pacha having halted at Chendrya till the last of his victims had entered, rapidly descended from the hill, and drove at full gallop round the caravanserai, to ascertain that it afforded no means of escape; then halting at the head of his troops he shouted aloud Vras! (kill.) His Mahometan guards, however, indignantly rejected the order, and disdained to soil their hands in the blood of their defenceless brethren. The black battalion of the Mirdites, a corps of Catholic Albanians in his service, were next directed to fire into the khan, but they likewise resolutely refused. A death-like pause ensued, whilst wrath was mounting to the brow of the exasperated tyrant, when Athanasia Vaia, his abandoned agent in a thousand crimes, stepped forward at the head of his band of Greeks, and offered his arm to his master. The troop of voluntary murderers speedily ascended the wall which surrounded the enclosure, where the helpless victims were congregated to the number of 670 below them. On a signal from Ali they commenced the slaughter; the tophaics of the Mahometan guards, who had retired on the first dread scream which arose from the caravanserai, were handed up to them ready loaded by wretches

A.D.
1812.

A.D. stationed below the wall; and thus enabled to
1812. keep up a running fire, the work of death proceeded uninterrupted. For an hour the carnage was unslacked; and the ears of the Pacha were greeted by the perpetual discharge of musquetry, and the wild unearthly sound which arose from the scene of the massacre, the mingling shout of terror, the groan of agony, and the gurgling sob of death. The sacrifice was at length complete; the last faint cry was hushed, and all grew still.

Meantime the soldiers who had declined the office of executioners were busied in the less scrupulous task of plundering the houses of the Gardikiots; the town was reduced to ruins, and the women and children, when the spolia-tion was concluded, were borne captives to the residence of Chaïnitza. Like a second Tisiphoné, the infuriate fiend proceeded to glut her vengeance on the unoffending victims; as the grossest insult which could be offered to the delicacy of Turkish females, their veils were torn from their faces, the ample folds of their dresses were rent into shreds, and to fulfil the memorable vow of the fury, their hair was shorn from their heads, to stuff the cushions of her divan.* After

* On this occasion Chaïnitza cut open with a razor the body of one of her women, who was married to a Gardikiot,

feasting herself with their sufferings and their tears, she at length dismissed them from her presence, and proclaimed throughout Liboovo the severity of her displeasure against those who should dare to supply food or covering to the destitute daughters of Gardiki: "It was her will," she said, "that they should wander outcasts from the abodes of men till they perished a prey to the beasts of the field, or withered by famine and disease." So absolute was the despotism of this monster, that no voice dared be raised in remonstrance against her cruelty; and for some days the expiring wretches wandered in all the agonies of hunger and destitution around the rocks of Liboovo, till Ali, less cruel than his sister, revoked the barbarous decree, and directed the remnant of the population to be sold into slavery, and dispersed throughout the provinces. He returned in triumph to his palace from this sanguinary expedition, and his approach to his capital was celebrated by the murder of a few natives of Gardiki, who had taken up their residence at Joannina. On his arrival he issued immediate orders to his sons Veli and Mouctar, to execute without delay such of the proscribed race as were at the moment in their service; but to and tore with her own hands a half-formed infant from her womb. Pouqueville, v. ii. n. p. 366.

A.D.
1812.

A.D.
1812.

the honour of the former he declined to obey the savage mandate. The hostages confined in the fortress were next consigned to destruction, after being tortured to discover the depository of their treasures; and their bodies, flung into the lake, floated over its waters, and were devoured by dogs upon the shore

Ere departing for Joannina the vizir directed a marble slab to be placed over the entrance to the scene of massacre, recording his filial compliance with the last wishes of his parent; and the traveller who passes through the valley of Drynopolis, still turns aside to visit the khan of Chendrya, where an inscription in Turkish and Greek letters recounts the number of the dead who lie deprived of sepulture within, and relates the year, the month, and the day, on which they were sacrificed to the manes of Kamcho.*

A.D.
1814.

The opening of the year 1814 was remarkable for those disastrous events which led to the overthrow of Napoleon: of their progress, Ali Pacha was by no means an indifferent spectator; and calculating, from the aspect of affairs on the continent of Europe, that the residence of the French garrison at Corfu was speedily about to terminate, he resolved to

* Pouqueville, v. ii. p. 360. Fauriel, v. ii. p. 6. Perevoa, v. ii. pp. 87, 91. Hughes, v. ii. p. 194. Carrel, p. 246.

make another desperate effort to obtain possession of Parga ere the intervention of a third nation should again frustrate his ambition. Early in February a flotilla sailed from Prevesa to intercept any communication with the Ionian Islands; and at the same instant the villages of Aghia and Rapesa, two outposts of Parga, were carried by a vigorous *coup de main* of the vizir. He instantly advanced upon the fortress, but its naturally impregnable position and the gallantry of its inhabitants again protected it from destruction: the cavalry of the Pacha, charging up a narrow causeway which led to the town, suffered severely from the fire of the Parguinots; and his troops, after a vigorous but fruitless assault, were completely repulsed, and forced to fall back upon their original position.

A. D.
1814.

This victory, though decisive for the moment, served to show the Parguinots the peril of their situation. The French garrison, acting most likely under the influence of treachery, had retired to the citadel on the first approach of the Turks, and refused to fire a shot against them; from their services the townsmen had derived no advantage, and even the imaginary security derivable from their residence amongst them, they were shortly about to be deprived of by the unavoidable course of events. In

A.D.
1814. this emergency they first conceived the idea of applying to the English commander at Zante for protection; and in fifteen days from the assault of the vizir, the British flag replaced the standard of the French on the citadel of Parga.*

March
22d.

A.D.
1819. The particulars of this event, and the subsequent evacuation of Parga by the English in 1819, when the hopes of Ali received their long-deferred completion by its acquisition, have been already detailed. Its occupation was the last successful event in the history of the tyrant of Joannina: his fate had long previously been sealed by the Divan, and ere twelve months had elapsed from his entrance into Parga, the armies of the Sultan were on their march to overthrow him. Simultaneous with this measure was the first energetic movement of the Greeks for the emancipation of their country; and the bursting of hostilities against the Pacha of Epirus was the signal for the commencement of that immortal struggle which has at last achieved the liberty of Greece.

* See vol. i. of this History, c. viii. p. 264.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Progress of Education and Commerce, and other causes
which led to the Greek Revolution. A.D. 1800—1820.

THE popular excitement created by the patriotic efforts of Rhiga, and confirmed by the melancholy circumstances of his early fate, was productive of the most salutary effects on the progress of education throughout Greece. The nation was at once inspired with a new ardour for liberty, and taught the resistless power of knowledge when directing the noblest energies of the soul for its acquirement. A fresh impetus was at the same time given to the exertions of the wealthy and the wise amongst the Greeks to extend the participation of the blessings they enjoyed; and whilst the majority of the intelligent class saw clearly the impotence of any immediate political movement to achieve their freedom, the determination of all parties seemed bent on proceeding

to their purpose by the slower but more certain measures of enlightenment and instruction.* Numbers of educated European Greeks, emulous of the reputation and example of Rhiga, returned at this period to their home and commenced with enthusiasm the work of founding seminaries, teaching, and preparing for the use of their countrymen treatises of elementary and scientific instruction.

The tone and object of education seemed at once to have undergone a salutary change, and in lieu of the dry scholastic study of ancient Greek, as a professional requisite or a pedantic accomplishment, the professors sought to direct the attention of their pupils less to the graces of style or the splendour of diction, than to the discovery of those invaluable maxims of legislation and moral policy, and those developements of character and manners preserved in the literature of Greece.† The mind of the scholar was expanded whilst it was adorned, and he was taught the first grand object of all education,—to think. Nor was this change in the national feeling confined to one class alone, it pervaded all; and even the clergy, who during the revolutionary ferment which prevailed at the close of the

* Carrel, p. 278. Leake. Korai, Proleg. to Beccaria, 13'.

† Rizo, Cours, &c. pp. 50. 58.

eighteenth century had been compelled to become the opponents of instruction in order to check the progress of the Gallic principles of liberty,* now declared themselves its most strenuous patrons.† The physicians likewise, an equally influential though less numerous class, proved most powerful agents in advancing the cause of learning. In Greece, as in all the countries of the Levant, the members of this profession enjoy a consideration by far more distinguished than is possessed by any

* In order to oppose the exertions of the revolutionary party of the nation, who in pursuance of the advice of Rhiga were anxious to rouse the Greeks at once to arms, and who were employing every means through the press and otherwise to effect their purpose, the Divan found it necessary about 1795 to establish a press at Constantinople, and to enlist in its service the clergy and other influential members of the Greek community. To this confederacy I have already alluded in speaking of the Phanariots, and have likewise mentioned the most remarkable production of the Constantinopolitan press, the *Διδασκαλία πατρική*, of Anthemius. (See vol. ii. pp: 54. 56. n.) A more detailed account of it, with specimens, will be found in Leake's *Researches*, p. 192. Villemain, p. 255. and in the *Memoires* of M. Raybaud, v. ii. p. 492. A work of a later date, emanating from the opposite party, and already known in England through the specimens translated by Lord Byron, is the satirical poem entitled the *Russo-Anglo-Gaul*, (*Ρωσσο-Αγγλο-Γάλλος*.) Its object is to expose the vices of the leading classes of the Greeks, and to excite the nation to resistance.

† Carrel, p. 274. Pouqueville, v. i. p. 428.

other body. Their information and powers are held, especially by the lower orders, in the highest veneration; and their scientific acquirements, from a remnant of that superstition which attaches to the early astrologers and alchemists of the East, are regarded as something more subtile than the attainments of ordinary mortals. Compelled to resort for the prosecution of their studies to the colleges of Europe, they naturally imbibed with their learning something of the tastes and feelings of the nations amongst whom they resided: and these, on their return, they had the most favourable opportunities of disseminating amongst their countrymen, since their rank and their office secured to them at once the respect and intimacy of their connexions. Their services, in fact, may be regarded as more valuable, if it were possible, than even those of the professional teachers of the schools; their presence was every where, they associated without reserve with every class, from the wealthiest to the most impoverished of the community; and by all, their opinions, their advice, and suggestions were regarded with deference and respect. Nor were these advantages left unimproved; amongst the lists of the modern Greek literati the names of her physicians are by no means the least conspi-

cuous;* and the exertions of one of their number, Korai, for the amelioration and improvement of his countrymen, justly entitle him to be classed with the Maurocordatos, the Morousis, and the other restorers of learning amongst the Greeks.

The life of this eminent patriot may be regarded as consecrated to the service of his country. He was born at Smyrna, in 1748,†

* Demetrius Karakasi, and Constantine Michael, both natives of Macedonia, have published at Halle and Vienna some erudite treatises on Medicine and Nosology. Zisi Cavaras, of Ampelakia, the same who assisted Constandas in his literary labours, (see ante, n. †, p. 424.) translated Euler's Elements of Arithmetic and Algebra; and George Khrisoveloni, a physician of Scio, has written as well on his own profession as on Ethics and Logic. Anastasius Georghiadhi, of Philippopolis, is likewise distinguished as a medical writer: and Lord Byron has attested the merits of Psalidas, of Joannina, who is by profession a physician. Michael Chrestari, also a native of Joannina, and a physician, has contributed much by his pen and his pecuniary services to advance the cause of education; he has translated Metzbourg's Mathematics, and Say's Political Economy, and is likewise the author of numerous dramatic pieces, performed at the theatre of Bucharest: his fortune has been ruined by the late revolution, in which he was attached to the sacred battalion of Ypsilanti, but still unbroken in spirit and unquenched in patriotism, he remains actively engaged in promoting the education of his countrymen.

† On the 27th of April. His family were originally from Scio, of which his father was a merchant, and one of them

and after receiving an education such as the schools of that city afforded, he settled as a merchant at Amsterdam. But literature had ever been more congenial than traffic to the mind of Korai, and after a long struggle between taste and prudence he at last resolved on abandoning commerce, and at the mature age of thirty-nine became a student of medicine at the university of Montpellier. Here his attention was divided between his professional and literary pursuits; his chief support he derived from teaching his native language to his fellow-students, and his hours of leisure he employed in the publication of some medical works which materially contributed to establish his reputation as a man of science and a scholar.* In

named Antonio, a physician, who died in 1702, has left a Pindaric Ode, in Romaic, of considerable merit, written in honour of the Chancellor D'Aguesseau, a favourite character with the Greeks, and surnamed by them the *Modern Aristides*. Korai republished it in 1819, with a preface by M. Nicolo-Poulo, and the eulogy of the Chancellor by Thomas. It is included in Pardessus' edition of the works of D'Aguesseau.

* One of his earliest productions was a translation from the German of Selles' Clinical Medicine; it was published at Montpellier in 1787, in 2 vols. 8vo.; he afterwards edited an edition of Xenocrates de Alimentis et Aquatilibus, with critical notes, which was printed at Naples in 1794. He prepared likewise a translation of the Orthodox Confession of the Oriental Church, drawn up by Platon of Mos-

1795 he removed to Paris, where, through the friendship of M. Chaptal, he was shortly after appointed by the First Consul, in conjunction with M. de la Porte du Theil, to prepare a French version of the Geography of Strabo, to be executed at the expense of the Government. This important work, the first portion of which appeared in 1805, evinced, as well in the accuracy of its execution as in the erudition of the dissertations which accompanied it,* and the notes by which it was illustrated, the soundest learning united with the most penetrating judgment, and established at once the high reputation of its authors. Whilst it was still in progress, Korai had succeeded in obtaining the decennial prize for a translation and commentary on Hippocrates' Treatise on Medicinal Meteorology,† which not only elicited the

cow for the instruction of his Imperial Highness the Prince Paul; it appeared at Leipsig in 1788.

* These were in part the work of other individuals than Korai and his ostensible coadjutor.

† “Περὶ Ἀερων, ὕδατων καὶ τόπων.” It was published at Paris in 1800, in 2 vols. 8vo. and to a second edition, in 1816, he added an Hellenic preface, a translation of the Laws of Hippocrates (Νόμοι), and a short treatise of Galen, entitled “Ὅτι ἄριστος Ἰατρὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος.” He had, before the publication of Hippocrates, printed at Montpellier (in 1798) a French version of Black's History of Medicine and Surgery, and edited an edition of Theophrastus from a

highest encomiums from his judges, but secured for him the unqualified admiration of his scientific contemporaries.*

In the midst of these laborious occupations his thoughts were ever bent upon the interests of Greece; and especially during the few years which elapsed whilst the French held possession of the Ionian Islands, his voice and his pen were alike employed in her service.†

manuscript in the Vatican, containing some passages till then inedited. It appeared in 4to. at Montpellier, in 1799.

* With the exception of a M. Gail, who, considering his own translation of Thucydides to have merited the honour bestowed on the Hippocrates of Korai, attacked him in no measured terms. The cause of the Greek was espoused by M. Thurot, who successfully repelled the charge ere its object was aware of its existence. Some reference to the conduct of M. Gail will be found in a note to Childe Harold, where Lord Byron does ample justice to the character of Korai. In speaking of the merits of his translation the Report of the Institute uses the following terms: "M. Coray a rendu un véritable service à la science et à la critique en traduisant ce traité, sur lequel ses remarques ont répandu une clarté nouvelle. Le nombre de passages qu'il a mieux entendus et de ceux qu'il a restitués corrigés et expliqués d'une manière satisfaisante, est très considerable. La sagacité de sa critique et le bonheur de ses conjectures semblent le conduire souvent jusqu'à l'évidence. La philologie et la science médicale répandues avec choix et sans profusion dans ses notes, rendent la lecture de ce traité aussi intéressante qu'instructive," etc. p. 203.

† Amongst his productions of a political nature at this

Hitherto, however, his name was comparatively unknown to his countrymen, who had as yet derived no direct advantage from his labours; but having now secured by his own exertions an honourable independence,* he prepared with enthusiasm to devote himself more exclusively to their service.

In 1802 he dedicated to the infant Republic of the Ionians a Romaic translation of the Marquess Beccaria's celebrated Treatise on Crimes and Punishments.† From the political agitation of the moment, and the hopes excited by the experiment of establishing a free state

period, the most remarkable was an address to the Greeks, called "The Trumpet of War, Σαλπισμα Πολεμιστηριον, by Atrometus of Marathon;" which, however, he has never, as far as I am aware of, claimed. It was printed at Paris in 1801, and a second edition was issued on the commencement of the present revolution, in which some improvements and additions were inserted. Korai was likewise the author of a very spirited Greek War-song, written whilst the French expedition was in Egypt, and adapted to the situation and feelings of the Greeks.

* A Protestant clergyman to whom he had taught Romaic at Montpellier, had settled on him a handsome pension; Buonaparte had given him an annuity of 3000 francs during the progress of his Strabo, which was continued to him by Louis XVIII.; and these, together with the produce of his other works, served to render Korai perfectly independent as a bachelor and a literary recluse.

† Βεκκαρίου περι Αδικημάτων και Ποινών.

amongst the Greeks, the undertaking, assuming as it did a national character, was enthusiastically received. The reputation and talents of the author were instantly recognized by his countrymen, and thenceforward his fame and praises became the theme of every tongue. His translation was preceded by a preface replete with the most inspiring stimulants to the youth of Greece to emulate by study and perseverance the glory of their ancestors. "The seeds of learning," he says, "which to-day are tended and cultivated throughout Europe, first sprang from the soil of our native land; but, alas! whilst strangers plant and prune them, whilst they rise into spreading trees, and others collect their fruits, we alone have forgotten that our fathers were the first to rear them. Increase, then, your diligence to enlighten your country, and to recall the ancient honours of your race. Remember that you are the representatives of the Homers, and the Aristotles, of the Platos, and Demosthenes, of the Thucydides, and Sophocles, whose labours achieved the greatness of Greece; whose names were revered when living, and whose memory has survived decay. You are now the instructors and teachers of your country, but the time is fast approaching when you will be called on to act as its lawgivers. Unite, then, your wealth and

your exertions in her behalf, since in her destitution she can boast no common treasury for the instruction of her children ; and forget not that in her brighter days their education was a public duty intrusted to her rulers. Nor let your services be tardy, if you would gain her gratitude ; it is the presence of peril which proves the purity of friendship, but flatterers appear only when the moment of difficulty has passed. Repine not, then, at the cost or the pains which must achieve your country's happiness ; but rejoice in the crisis which places within your attainment the proud title of 'The Benefactors of Greece.' The day has at last arrived for which our unhappy fathers sighed so long in vain ; nor need you now be told that for us the dawn of freedom is already rising."*

This timely exhortation was by no means lost on those to whom it was addressed ; new energy was infused by the counsels of Korai into the minds of those who had hitherto patronized and promoted the spread of intelligence ; schools and libraries were founded and endowed in the most promising situations, and fresh bands of students were dispatched to the various literary seminaries of Europe. The printing of Romaic works likewise proceeded with vigour ; and Korai was invited by the

* Proleg. to Beccaria, 18.

generous merchants whose liberality supplied the necessary funds to superintend their publication. An edition of the Ethiopics of Heliodorus* was thus prepared under the auspices of Alexander Vasilides;† and at the expense of the brothers Zosima, of Leghorn,‡ Korai commenced in 1805 his great national work, the Hellenic Library. This magnificent undertaking, which was designed for gratuitous distribution to the schools of Greece, was intended

* See vol. ii. of this History, c. xiii. p. 174. In this, as in his other works, Korai has displayed infinite industry and research; it appeared at Paris in 1804, in 2 vols. 8vo. Of its execution the Literary Gazette of Halle speaks in the following favourable terms: "Nous croyons pouvoir affirmer avec certitude qu'il existe peu d'auteurs anciens dont le texte ait tant gagné par le travail d'un seul individu, et ait été corrigé en un si grand nombre des passages d'une manière si heureuse, et avec tant de perspicacité." Previously to his edition of Heliodorus, Korai had likewise superintended one of the *Δάφνις καὶ Χλόη* of Longus, (see c. xiii. p. 176.) which was got up in a style altogether magnificent by M. Pierre Didot l'aîné, as a specimen of his splendid typography. It was printed in 4to. in 1802, without accents, and contains neither preface nor notes.

† I am not aware whether this Alexander Vasilides (or Vasiliu,) be the same who published at Vienna, in 1808, a series of biographical records of Grecian worthies in Romaic, German, and Italian.

‡ For an account of these singular patriots, see vol. ii. of Hughes's Travels, p. 24, and a note to Leake's Researches, p. 229.

to contain the choicest productions of their ancient literature.*

In its preparation Korai seemed totally to sink the pride of authorship, and to study merely the utility and advantage of his readers. His commentaries and notes, which accompany each author, are composed not for the ostentation of learning, but with a simple view

* The first volume of the *Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, which the author designates the precursor (*Προδρομος*) of the work, contains the miscellaneous histories (*Ποικίλη Ἱστορία*) of *Ælian* of *Preneste*; the fragment of *Heraclides* of *Sinope* (*περὶ Πολιτικῶν*), and those of the historian *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, the friend of *Herod the Great*. To these succeeded the *Orations* and *Epistles* of *Isocrates*, the *Lives* of *Plutarch*, the *Στρατηγηματικά* of *Polyænus* the *Macedonian*, the *Fables* of *Æsop*, the *Memorabilia* of *Xenophon*, the *Morals* of *Aristotle*, the *Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν* of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, the works of *Xenocrates* on *Aquatic* and *Animal Nourishment* (*περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ ἐνύδρων τροφῆς* and *περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων τροφῆς*), and the *Στρατηγικὸς λόγος* of *Onesander*, or, as Korai writes it, *Onesander*, the most celebrated of the *Greek tacticians*. The edition of the latter, by Korai, which forms the fifth volume of the *Bibliotheca Hellenica*, was printed from a manuscript which belonged to the renowned *Philhellene* *Martin Kraus*, and is now in the possession of *M. Firmin Didot*. It is accompanied by the *French translation* of the *Baron de Zurlauben*, and preceded by a reprint of the first elegy of *Tyrtæus*. It was published "at the expense of the unfortunate inhabitants of *Scio*," and dedicated to the "Greeks engaged in the war of liberty."

to the accommodation of his subject to the capacity of the student; and preliminary discourses are prefixed to every work explanatory of its style and object, or immediately connected with the interests of the Greeks. In these he expatiates on the principles and importance of education, the advantages of proper methods of study, the pleasures of philosophy and science, the relative obligations of rulers and subjects, and the duties of every citizen towards his country. Taken together they present the most favourable specimens hitherto produced of Romaic composition; in idiom they are perhaps rather French than Hellenic, but they exhibit an elegance of diction and a chasteness of style unrivalled by any previous or contemporary productions.* Their effect

* It was in these prefaces that Korai first attempted to direct the attention of the Greek literati to a rational expedient for purifying Romaic, and forming a national dialect. Previously to the present century, as I have already remarked (v. ii. p. 73.), the language, undefined by accurate grammatical rules, and submitted to no acknowledged standard, was at the mercy of every author who sought, by the introduction of ancient words or modern idioms, to gratify his own peculiar tastes. A desire, however, to cultivate it philosophically was introduced with the general thirst for knowledge which distinguished the present era, and a variety of expedients to effect the desired reformation were successively proposed, decried, and abandoned. One party, blindly attached to their classical tongue, attempted a vague introduc-

on the minds of the Greeks, aided as they were by the high reputation and acknowledged

tion of its terms and phrases, and sought by a copious profusion of Hellenic expressions to enrich the vitiated dialect of the day. The most prominent patron of this project was Neophytus Doukas, a professor in the Lyceum of Bucharest, author of a translation of Thucydides, and editor of some of the ancient classics, which with laudable liberality he distributed to the poor students of Greece. (See a list of his works in Leake, pp. 93, 94. and in Rizo's *Course of Greek Literature*, pp. 60. 120. 145. n. 9. 178.) He defended his system by citing the example of Meletius, Theotoky, and Bulgaris, who had adopted a similar style; but his arguments were weak against the raillery of Korai (see preface to his edition of *Heliodorus*), and his ideas were never cordially received nor popularly adopted.* A second expe-

* On this project of commingling the fragments of a dead language with a living one, or adopting the former as a substitute for the latter, Rizo has the following pertinent remark. "Malgré ces progrès, malgré les rapports intimes qui existent entre le Grec ancien et le Grec moderne, j'estime fausse l'opinion de ceux qui prétendent ramener en Grèce l'usage de la langue ancienne, en abandonnant tout à fait le Grec moderne, comme incapable de perfectionnement; par là ils attaquaient également les deux langues: ils profanaient l'une et frappaient l'autre d'une complète nullité. C'est une grande erreur que de croire possible la réintégration d'une langue morte quelconque. Puisque le langage est l'expression de tout l'homme, il faudrait nous rendre toutes les mœurs, tous les préjugés, tous les usages du peuple qui l'a parlée; nous remettre dans la même situation politique, intellectuelle et morale; faire retourner les connaissances à la place où elles se trouvaient, modifier notre manière de penser, changer la religion, la législation, le gou-

patriotism of their author, was prodigious; they were accurately suited as well to the exigencies of the moment as to the intellectual capacity of the nation; they were read, admired, and

dient, less arduous but less enlightened, was suggested by a lawyer, named Catardzy, a man of learning and intelligence, and warmly supported by Philippides. This was the simple adoption of the colloquial idiom as the *written* language of the nation: this proposal was based on the immediate facility thus afforded of conveying information to the lower orders, and so enthusiastic were his partisans in favour of his plans, that they even endeavoured to establish its popularity by attempting to prove the constitution of the modern language to be accurately that of the ancient Hellenic. In particular Christopoulo,* whose lyrics have procured for him the title of the modern Anacreon, composed in its support a grammar of what he terms the *Æolo-Doric*, in which, by an ingenious

vernement, tout enfin, et cela pour n'avoir que de plats imitateurs d'inimitables modèles." note, p. 186. These observations of Rizo seem to be an amplification of the Greek proverb quoted by Seneca, "Talis hominibus fuit oratio, qualis vita." L. Annæ. Senec. Epist. cxiii. l. 1.

* Athanasio Christopoulo is a native of Castoria, in Macedonia, but has passed the greater portion of his life at Constantinople. His songs are amongst the chief favourites of the Greeks; his ideas are rich, sparkling, and voluptuous; his style the most polished of the Phanar; and, according to his admirers, "all the excellencies of the bard of Teos are united in the poet of Castoria." He at present resides at Hermanstadt, in Transylvania, and is occupied in writing a metrical version of the *Iliad*. His songs were published at Vienna, in 1811, and a selection of them with a prose translation has lately appeared at Paris.

acted upon universally, and served to add double intensity to the passion for information then widely prevalent throughout every district.

selection of examples, he contrives to demonstrate that the Romaic of the present period is nothing more than an admixture of these two ancient dialects. The charms of Christopoulo's verses, and the simplicity of the proposed expedient, quickly induced a host of proselytes; but again the arguments and ridicule of Korai were successful, and completely overthrew the system. Choosing a middle course between the contending factions, he proposed in the first place the abolition of the most glaring barbarisms of the modern tongue, the suppression of the French, Italian, and Turkish idioms, and the gradual eradication of Oriental and European terms: these redundancies and vices, as they were pruned away and corrected, were to be gradually replaced by the substitution of Hellenic phrases, as far as was advisable and consistent with the genius and construction of the modern language. This moderate and rational suggestion met at once with almost general approbation; in particular it was espoused by all who had any pretensions to literature, and though occasionally the ardour of its supporters hurried them into extremes and absurdity, it gained and still maintains its ground. From the period of this triumph of the Koraists the language has assumed something of an established form, and the writings of (Economos,* Vamvas, Gazis, Argyropoulo,† Chrestary, Iatropoulo, Tricoupy, Polychroniadès, Piccolo, and Asopius have given a permanence to the doctrines of Korai which it will take a long course of time to undermine.

* Professor in Smyrna, now an ecclesiastic in Russia.

† Translator of the *Esprit des Lois*.

Europe, in the mean time, was comparatively ignorant of the situation or circumstances of Greece; as the immediate scene of some political movements, attention had been occasionally directed towards it, but as yet no general interest had been aroused in its favour, nor had any intelligent accounts as yet appeared to dissipate the prevalent belief of its sluggish and insensate debasement. This error Korai undertook to correct, and in his Essay on the State of Civilization in Greece,* he unfolded one of the most luminous *exposés* of its intellectual and political progress.†

* De l'Etat Actuel de la Civilization en Grèce.

† Besides those works to which I have already alluded, Korai was likewise engaged in the preparation of a dictionary of ancient Greek, which was undertaken at the cost of the Prince Demetrius Morousi, and in which the most distinguished literati of Greece were employed: Charles Gkika, Vlastos (a physician), Vamvas, Psomaky, Logadés, Païsius, Platon, and Spyridion Valetas. The original projectors were Vlastos and Charles Gkika, the latter of whom especially had long been employed in translating and augmenting the Thesaurus of Henry Stephen. Morousi having undertaken to patronize the work, quickly procured them assistants, and used every exertion to procure for them copies of every existing lexicon. The design was to furnish an explanation of every word, to cite examples from classic authors, to mark the age of each term, and to supply a chronological synopsis of its variations in sense at each period of Greek literature. It was entitled the *Κιβωτός*, or arch of the Greek language, and the printing commenced in 1817 at the patriarchal

Thus ardently occupied in aiding the best of purposes, the long life of Korai has been passed in arduous and untiring exertions for the regeneration of his native land. Nor have his labours been either unappreciated or unsuccessful: by his grateful countrymen he is regarded with something approaching to adoration; he has seen his numerous pupils become suc-

press; but owing to the bursting out of the revolution it was suspended ere it reached beyond the letter Δ. Korai likewise published an edition of the four first books of the Iliad, but at what period I have not learned, and one of the *Faceties* (*Ἀστυα*) of Hierocles. It is most likely to the latter that Schoel refers, "*Un célèbre Helléniste, qui a gardé l'anonyme, les a publiées avec une traduction Française, Paris, 8vo. 1812. Edition forte rare, parce qu'elle n'est pas entrée dans le commerce.*" *Litt. Grecq.* l. vi. c. 92. His latest work is an edition of the Politics of Aristotle (8vo. 1821), to which he has, as usual, prefixed a lengthened preface. Of its merits a writer in the *Biographie des Contemporains* thus speaks: "La préface très-étendue de cet ouvrage est un véritable traité de morale et de philosophie, analogue aux circonstances de la guerre avec les Turcs, et dans laquelle l'auteur recommande aux Grecs, entre autres choses, de repousser avec énergie les Capucins, les Jésuites, et les Ignorantins qui s'introduisent partout, et de former un clergé purement spirituel, comme le clergé Russe. Cette préface est regardée comme ce que M. Coray a écrit de plus fort et de plus éloquent en politique et en morale." (vol. v. p. 54.) A few others still remain, of which I have not got the particulars; amongst them are editions of Epictetus, Cebes, Lycurgus the orator, Athenæus, Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Lucian, and Quintus Calaber.

cessively the lights and ornaments of their generation; and he has the proud satisfaction, ere passing to the grave, to see his labours crowned with the brightest success, and Greece, stimulated by his example and guided by his counsels, emerge from her long lethargy of barbarism, and assume once more her place amongst the nations of civilized Europe.

Seminaries for public instruction were in the mean time in active operation, not only throughout Greece itself, but in every situation where taste or tyranny had compelled its inhabitants to establish themselves. In Moldavia and Wallachia the lyceums of Bucharest and Yassi, which were in existence from the latter end of the seventeenth century,* and had

* At Bucharest a college was founded in 1810, under the auspices of the Emperor Alexander, and endowed by the Bishop Ignatius from the ecclesiastical revenues of the province of Wallachia. In six months there were two hundred and fifty students, and twelve masters who taught Hellenic, Latin, Russian, French, and German—metaphysics, rhetoric, history, mathematics, geography, astronomy, and experimental philosophy. A literary society was established at the same place, but it is doubtful whether the circumstances under which Wallachia has been once more placed by the late treaty of peace between the court of St. Petersburg and the Porte, will allow either of these foundations to remain in the same condition as when the country was in possession of the Russians. Leake, p. 229. Carrel, p. 267, &c.

been sedulously protected by the successive Hospodars, sent forth a number of scholars, whose patriotic exertions and literary labours were productive of the most striking results.*

* Amongst the most remarkable modern scholars of the northern schools were Photiades, who obtained the Professor's chair at Bucharest in 1795, Vardalachos, his successor, and Neophytus Doukas, an Epirot, (whom I have mentioned before as one of the reformers of the language,) who obtained the same dignity at a later period. Photiades (Lambro) was a native of Joannina, where his personal qualities endeared him as strongly to the affections of his friends as his talents and services entitled him to the gratitude of the nation. He was amongst the first of those reformers of education who appeared after the death of Rhiga, and no individual of his contemporaries has left so many distinguished pupils to attest the abilities of their early instructor. Doukas was one of his most successful scholars, and seemed to inherit with the learning, the liberality and patriotism of his master. Amongst his other pupils were George Emmanuel, of Tenedos, translator of Gesner's *Death of Abel*, and of Montesquieu's *Grandeur et Décadence*; and Chrestari, of Joannina, the physician to whom I have before alluded, besides members of the families of Vakaresko, Kampignan, Philippesko, Golesko, and the other eminent houses of the Hospodariats. Photiades was at once the tutor, the friend, and the father of his pupils; beyond their advantage he had no engrossing object; and his death, which occurred in 1805, was regarded as a national calamity. His works, which evince more elegance of taste than profundity of erudition, include some Hellenic poems, paraphrases of Pindar, and interpretations of the

The languages of modern Europe and the classics of Italy and Greece were taught, together with natural philosophy and the mathematical sciences. The press, too, was in active employment; and the flame extending to the provinces, there was scarcely a village which did not possess the means of affording at least elementary education to its inhabitants.* This leaven of intelligence produced a general ferment throughout the hitherto stagnant spirit of the people; learning was in either hospodariat cultivated and protected by individuals of eminence and wealth; and the families of Brancovan,† Nestor, Kampignan, Golesko, and

ancient orators, historians, &c. (See Rizo, p. 59. Leake, p. 91.) He was succeeded in 1807 by Vardalachos, a native of Scio, who was nominated to the vacant chair by the influence of Ignatius the metropolitan, who had lately purchased and presented to the Lyceum the library of Sonnini. From Bucharest Vardalachos removed in 1814 to Scio, where he obtained a similar professorship in the college, of which I shall presently speak; hence he again withdrew to Odessa, where he still resides as a master in the lyceum. He is author of some treatises on physics and rhetoric, dedicated to the sons of his first patron the Prince Caradza. (Rizo, p. 73.)

* A very full detail of the literary condition of the two provinces will be found in Rizo's History, pp. 234—236.

† A member of this ancient house, a pupil of Photiades, Gregory Brancovan Bessaraba, a professor in the lyceum of Bucharest, was author of a Romaic version of the Logic and

Philippesko in Wallachia; and in Moldavia those of Stourdza, Paskan, Risnovan, Balsouk, and Dragnitzzy, acquired by their love of letters an eminence in the eyes of their countrymen to which rank and aristocracy in vain aspired.

Throughout Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus, the progress of knowledge was not less rapid or less gratifying; the monasteries of Athos still served as the retreats of science,* and Pelion and Ossa could each boast a seminary for the instruction of youth. At Milies, on the former, a school had existed from the latter end of the last century;† another at Zagora, on the eastern coast of Magnesia, had educated numerous individuals remarkable for their talents as merchants or scholars;‡ and Ampelakia, a manufacturing village in the vicinity of Tempe,

Moral Philosophy of Heineccius, which he printed at his own expense for gratuitous distribution. (Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 63. Leake, p. 89.) Zenobius Popp, another distinguished Wallachian, is author of a treatise on Greek metres, published at Vienna in 1803. An interesting account of him will be found in the Journey from Constantinople to England of Dr. Walsh, (c. xv. p. 332.) who had an interview with him at Hermanstadt, where he now resides.

* Jowett, however, states that in 1818 there was not a single school on the sacred mountain. Christian Researches, p. 64.

† Γεωγραφία Νεωτεριή, p. 228.

‡ Ibid.

presented, before the late disasters of Greece, one of the most striking instances of that prosperity which must ever ensue from the judicious cultivation of scientific with commercial knowledge. Its history affords a remarkable illustration of the advantages derivable from co-operation: its inhabitants, amounting some years back to upwards of four thousand, were supported exclusively by the manufacture of dyed cotton-yarn, for the markets of Hungary, Austria, and the Levant; but as their commerce encreased, the ruinous effects of competition began rapidly to manifest themselves amongst the tradesmen of the village. Convinced simultaneously of their error and the mode of its amelioration, they immediately formed themselves into one extensive commandite, or trading company, the capital and profits of which were the joint property of the community. The stock was supplied by the labour of the entire population, idleness was a vice unknown in Ampelakia, and from the child to the grandsire every individual was a contributor to the general fund. The affairs of the establishment, which had a corresponding house at Vienna, were conducted by directors chosen by the voice of the shareholders; and an equitable dividend was annually made of a portion of the profits, the surplus being added

to the original capital, which in the course of the first two years arose from six hundred thousand to a million piastres.*

A similarity of interests quickly introduced the most patriarchal union and concord throughout the prosperous little confederacy, and the increase of wealth enabled them to purchase immunities from their rulers which contributed materially to enhance their municipal happiness. No Turk was permitted to reside amongst them, and they were governed by their own proestoi and magistrates chosen from their own body. A taste for intelligence quickly resulted from their foreign connexions,† an extensive school was established in the village, and by the generosity of the inhabitants and some patriotic friends it was supplied with a handsome library and a collection of philosophical instruments.‡

The influence and example of Ampelakia

* Beaujour, Commerce de la Grèce.

† It was a merchant of Ampelakia, Hadji Ivo, at whose expense the Γεωγραφία Νεοελληνική, to which I have referred in previous notes, was printed.

‡ It was chiefly to the munificence of Stephen Dounkas (see p. 560. of this chapter,) of Coroutchesmé, Constandas, (c. xvi. of this History, p. 423.) the brothers Capetenaky, intelligent Greeks of Vienna, and Christopoulo, the poet, that Ampelakia was indebted for her library and apparatus. Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 76.

diffused life and activity throughout the surrounding districts; Rapsani, Baba, Tournovo, Larissa, and Pharsalia became in turn commercial, wealthy, and enlightened; and vice and ignorance receding before the steps of industry and intelligence, a new era seemed to have commenced in the annals of Thessaly. "I shall never forget," says a writer who speaks from observation, "the spectacle presented to me by the village and its vicinity; a numerous population subsisting by their common industry, and exhibiting amidst the rocks of Ossa the affecting union of a society of brothers and of friends; the institution exiled by the Jesuits to the forests of Paraguay, transplanted as it were by magic amidst the precipices and snows of Tempe; the feuds of the Greeks extinguished; the passion for empty subtleties replaced by the love of solid studies; liberty blooming in her own neglected garden after twenty centuries of ruin and decay; the ancient character of the Greeks springing forth again with energy amidst the torrents and caverns of Pelion; and the talents and virtues of a former race reappearing in all their pristine vigour in this flourishing corner of Modern Greece."*

* Beaujour. It is painful, after regarding this delightful picture, to be compelled to record the destruction of a state

The schools of Joannina, one of which had existed from the latter end of the seventeenth century,* received valuable assistance and encouragement from the patronage of Ali Pacha. In one, the most ancient, the number of pupils

of society so virtuous and primitive, but the influx of inordinate wealth amongst a people as yet immatured in those principles which can alone ensure the stability of social happiness, proved disastrous to the merchants of Ampelakia. The property of the commandite increasing in a degree beyond all precedent, their capital was soon swollen to an extent which precluded the possibility of advantageous employment. More liberal dividends were in consequence resorted to, and pride and luxury springing up amongst the wealthier speculators, disunion and rivalry were again restored. After a few years of incredible prosperity, the trading association became distracted by dissension and envy, the commandite was dissolved, competition in all its ruinous consequences was brought back, poverty and vice were again returning, and Ampelakia appeared to be merging into its former barbarism, when in the tempest of the late revolution it was ravaged by the Turkish troops, its factories destroyed, its schools dispersed, their treasures scattered, and the once happy community reduced in an hour to destitution and slavery.

* It was founded by a merchant named Gkione, who had made an ample fortune in Wallachia, but its funds being vested in the bank of Venice, which was taken possession of by the French in 1797, its support has latterly devolved on the family of the Zosimas, who have justly earned by their liberality to learning the title of the Medicis of Modern Greece.

amounted, in 1815, to upwards of three hundred, whose education was superintended by a Signor Balano, the descendant of a family who had long been employed in the same occupation, and whose treatises on Mathematics and Arithmetic are still in the highest repute.* The direction of the other was entrusted by the Vizir to Athanasio Psalidas, a disciple of the celebrated Kant, under whose care it became one of the most eminent institutions in Greece. Every branch of elementary education was included in its course; but the particular advantages of the knowledge which it was the medium of communicating, were perhaps less estimable than the general taste for instruction which it diffused throughout Epirus. During the period of its prosperity it attracted around it the learned men of the adjoining provinces, and was the means of introducing at Joannina a purity of language, and a refinement of style, which was surpassed only by the Phanariot nobles of the capital.†

* Hughes, v. iii. p. 24. Leake, p. 79.

† The claims of Joannina to superior purity of language and advancement in literature have been contested by various travellers who have visited Epirus; Lord Byron, in a note to the second canto of *Childe Harold*, and Mr. Douglas, in his *Essay on the Modern Greeks*, (p. 74.) have equally asserted its claims; but Mr. Hughes, though he admits the

At Athens there existed, prior to the late revolution, an extensive seminary, provided with a library and all the essentials for literary and scientific education;* and a learned society, under the title of the "Lovers of the Muses,"† was formed about the year 1814,‡ chiefly by

general refinement of language, (v. ii. p. 73.) ridicules the idea of any literary eminence to which the capital of the modern Pyrrhus can lay claim. (Ib. p. 71.) Be it as it may, Greece, as regards education, is more indebted to the natives of Joannina than to the inhabitants of any other district; the enthusiasm of the brothers Zosima was warmly participated in by the family of the Kaplani, who were distinguished as patrons of learning; and amongst its scholars it is sufficient to name Kankellariu, the translator of Rollin and Voltaire's Peter the Great, the brothers Balano, to whom I have already alluded, and Psalidas, who is author of a treatise on true happiness, (*Ἀληθὴς εὐδαιμονία*), founded on the philosophy of Kant. An account of the latter individual, by no means flattering, will be found in Hughes' Travels, (vol. i. pp. 441, 450); some additional particulars are given by Dr. Holland, and Lord Byron has made honourable mention of him in the note before referred to. He is at present resident at Corfu, and is supported by the profits of a small school. Rizo, Cours, &c. pp. 71. 145. Carrel, p. 267. Douglas, p. 74. Leake, pp. 85. 227. 229.

* See an account of this seminary in Hughes' Travels, v. i. p. 301. and in Jowett's Researches, p. 80.

† *Φιλομουσων ἑταιρία*.

‡ Rabbe, p. 174. Count Pecchio says 1813, (Picture of Greece in 1825, v. ii.) and Soutzo 1815, (Histoire de la Revolution Grecque, p. 12.)

the influence of some literary foreigners. Its objects comprised every thing connected with the pursuit of knowledge, the foundation of a library and museum, the establishment of schools throughout Greece, and the translation and composition of scientific works for the use of students.

The Morea likewise had its seminaries at Dimitzana, Tripolizza, and Napoli di Romania, of minor extent but of proportionate importance; and throughout the isles of the *Ægean*, especially those which enjoyed any considerable share of commerce, an equal desire was manifested for the acquisition of learning and the cultivation of mind. The French, in the Ionian Islands, had by their influence given a new impulse to the progress of instruction; schools were established, during their government, at Corfu,* Zante, and Cephalonia, and at

* The latter years of the life of the late Lord Guildford, one of the most generous and enlightened friends of the Greeks, were almost exclusively devoted to the furtherance of their education, particularly at Athens, and throughout the Ionian Islands where he had established his residence. It was through his indefatigable exertions that a college was founded at Corfu, under the protection of the British Government, which has long proved, and still continues one of the most valuable blessings yet conferred on Greece. The design and constitution of the establishment were the work of Lord Guildford; and after innumerable disappointments and delays

Ithaca, in particular, there existed one which was so numerously attended as to induce the

the institution was at last opened on the first of November, 1823, his Lordship being appointed by the Ionian Senate to the office of its Chancellor. The course of education comprises Law, Theology, Humanity, Science, Music, and the Fine Arts; and at its commencement the various chairs were filled by Greek professors, with the exception of two (those of Belles Lettres and Law), whose occupants were natives of Great Britain. The following particulars are extracted from an interesting paper in the New Monthly Magazine for July 1827.

“ Lord Guildford is the Archon, or Chancellor; the other dignitaries of the University consist of the *εφορος* (rector), *κοσμοφυλαξ* (proctor), *ρητωρ* (civil orator), besides fourteen professors (*προφессοροι*). These have their several attendants, such as the *γλαυκοφορος* (owl bearer), *αρχираβδουκος* (chief beadle), and five *ραβδουκοι* (beadles in ordinary). In addition to these are the officers of the library, the *αρχιγραμματευς* (chief secretary), *γραμματευς* (secretary), *βιβλιοθηκαριος* (librarian), *καρτοφυλαξ* (keeper of the papers), and *φυλαξ* (porter). The student of the University (*πανεπιστημιον*) is termed *φιλολογος*, or philologian, whilst an undergraduate; *επιστημων*, when he becomes bachelor of arts; *τελειος*, when master. Besides the University, there is also a kind of preparatory academy, called *εφηβειον*, (pronounced *epheveion*.) The scholars belonging to this are *εφηβοι* (ephebes); and five amongst them, most distinguished for their attainments, are called *ευελπιστοι*.

“ Each professor of the University gives a daily lecture, and receives from the Ionian government sixty dollars, or about thirteen pounds a month for his services. He is also encouraged to farther exertions, by the payment of a dollar and a

inhabitants to look forward to the possession of a lyceum or university similar to those of the larger cities.*

half for every lecture he may deliver in addition ; subject, I conclude, in this, to the control of the chancellor. Permission to attend lectures, as well as instruction in the English language, is quite gratuitous. Thus the expenses of a philologist are confined to the mere necessities of life ; and, so far as the authority of the University extends, no extravagance of any kind is permitted. The student cannot exceed much in the article of coffee, which is the usual morning beverage ; and at the trattoria, or dining-house, every thing is limited, twenty oboli, or ten-pence, being the maximum allowed on ordinary days, twenty-five on the holidays of the church, thirty at Christmas and Easter, and on the festival of the philologist's patron saint. It is indeed not rating the cost of education at Corfu too low to say that, including

* Hugo Foscolo, whose name is so well known in England as an Italian critic and commentator, stood deservedly at the head of the Ionian literati. Another distinguished scholar is Andrea Mustoxidi, who discovered in the Ambrosian library the lost fragment of the *περί τῆς ἀντιδόσεως* of Isocrates, which he published at Milan in 1812. Poetry, likewise, has been most successfully cultivated in the Ionian Islands ; the verses of Salomos and Calbo equal, if they do not exceed in popularity, the lyrics of Christopoulo ; and Zambelios, of Santa Maura, is author of a tragedy entitled *Timoleon*, one of the greatest favourites of the modern Greek drama. The songs of Calbo were printed at Geneva in 1824, and one of the most favourable specimens of the poetry of Salomos, his splendid "Address to Liberty," will be found in the second volume of M. Fauriel's collection.

At Patmos there had existed since the beginning of the eighteenth century an insti-

board and clothing, it does not exceed fifteen dollars, or three pounds ten shillings a month, or about forty pounds a-year.

" * * * * With the exception of a few days in holy week and the holidays of the Greek church, all is active term-time from the first of November, when the scholastic year terminates, to the fifteenth of June. * * * * The number of philologists has encreased rapidly and steadily since the opening of the University. There were forty-seven the first year, eighty-seven the second, and two hundred and eleven in June 1826. To make up the latter number, Corfu sends eighty, Cephalonia twenty-eight; Ithaca, twenty-one; Zante, eleven; Paros, four; Santa Maura, two; Cerigo, two; England, one; and the Continent of Greece, sixty-three. * * * * The complement of ephebes rather exceeds in number that of the philologists, so that it may be fairly calculated, that in June 1826, there were nearly five hundred students belonging to the Corfu establishment. No ephebe can become a philologist till he has reached his fourteenth year; nor then, till he has satisfactorily passed a strict examination in Greek, Latin, and arithmetic; and, when the student is intended for holy orders, in theology. After three years the philologist is examined for his bachelor's degree; and upon this occasion the Archimandrite of the Greek church attends, to question the candidates for the priesthood. The bachelor is to be admitted master of arts after a certain time, not yet determined upon; and a degree is, henceforth, to be considered a necessary qualification for holding certain offices, among which those of the church are included.

"The costumes of the University have been chosen, as far

tution for education, which was formed by an ecclesiastic named Macarius, and was one of the earliest instances of private liberality

as modern notions of comfort and propriety allowed, from the ancient dresses, as we find them sculptured in marble, or painted upon fictile vases. Among them, the full dress of a doctor is strikingly classical, and, when well managed, very imposing. It consists of a full drab-coloured *ιματιον*, or robe, extending over the whole body from the neck, where it is buttoned close as far as the mid-leg, where it meets the red *κημιδες*, or boots, as we should call them; over this is the *τριβανιον*, through the rents of which, on the shoulders of Diogenes, Plato spied the vanity of the Cynic philosopher. The colour of the *trevonion* varies, and is red, purple, or blue, according to the faculty of the wearer in physic, law, or philosophy; the *imation* being the same in all, except in the faculty of theology, in which case there is no *trevonion*, and the entire dress is black, like that of the priests. The brow is encircled with a narrow *σταφανος*, or fillet, of the same colour and cloth as the *imation*; an exception being made in favour of the archon (and it is his only distinction), when it is composed of black velvet, with a gold owl and laurel wreath embroidered upon it, the owl appearing in the centre of the forehead. The philologian wears a naukeen *imatum*, restrained by a zone of the same material, and a *χλαμυδιον*, or scarf of light blue, which is generally worn crossed over the chest, one end of it being thrown gracefully back over the left shoulder. None of the ephebes wear academics except the eulpists, who are distinguished by a chlamidion of white instead of light blue. As a covering for the head a broad umbrella kind of hat, termed *πετασος*, such as are worn by Dominican friars in Italy, was first tried. Its ample dimensions were dictated by the climate, and Caligula allowed

endowing such foundations.* It continued for upwards of a century to supply teachers to the surrounding islands and the towns on the Asi-

one of a like form to be worn at the public theatres by way of parasol. But every country is said to produce a certain quantity of coxcombs as preservatives against the spleen; and Corfu possesses a few among its philologists. These young gentlemen, in their anxiety to make the *petasos* more becoming, clipped it and clipped it till they formed what English simplicity might have compared to a Newmarket jockey-cap; though it ought, I presume, to have been rather termed a crestless *κρυμν*, or helmet. They afterwards returned to the original shape, for which there is authority on the Greek vases.

"The number of books which the University library contained in June 1826 amounted to upwards of nine thousand; of these one half belong to Lord Guildford, the other to the Ionian Government. Among the latter are the *Flora Danica* and *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, with several valuable works from the royal typography at Copenhagen, recently presented by the King of Denmark. There are likewise some donations from our two English Universities and the East India Company, with smaller offerings from private individuals anxious for the success of the Corfu institution. A thousand books are also now on their way to the island from Count Mocenigo, a Zantiote nobleman, envoy from Russia to the court of Turin. To all these Lord Guildford has recently made a splendid addition of eight thousand printed works, besides three thousand highly valuable manuscripts illustrative of modern history, from the twelfth century down to the present time, so that there are now upwards of twenty-one thousand volumes at Corfu."

* Jowett's Researches, p. 62. Leake, p. 227.

atic coast, till eclipsed by the colleges of Scio, Smyrna, and Aivali, which it had been the first to furnish with professors. It was in this portion of the Levant, where commerce was most extended and lucrative, that education seemed peculiarly to flourish. At Scio the merchants had, about the close of the eighteenth century, established a college by a voluntary tax of two per cent. upon their property;* its increase was so rapid, that at the period of the destruction of Scio by the Turks, in 1823, it contained fourteen professorships,† accommodated eight hun-

* Mac Farlane's Constantinople, v. ii. p. 161. Memoirs of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, p. 84. Carrel, p. 273. Jowett's Researches, p. 71.

† At the time of Mr. Fisk's visit to Scio (July 24, 1820), there belonged to the college, one professor of chemistry and rhetoric, one of mathematics, one of theology, geometry, &c. one of the Turkish language, one of Latin and the French, and nine teachers of the ancient and modern Greek. The higher classes were required to study Plutarch, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Plato, Herodotus, Pindar, and the Iliad. Of the Sciot professors the most distinguished was Vardalachos, whom I have already mentioned as successor to Photiades at Bucharest: he was born in Egypt of Sciot parents, educated at the expense of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and having completed his studies at Padua and Pisa, he obtained his Wallachian professorship, whence he removed to his native island in 1814. His subsequent withdrawal to Odessa I have already mentioned. Vamvas, another eminent scholar of the same institution, is particularly distinguished for his

dred students, and was in possession of a printing-office, a library of one thousand volumes, and an ample collection of philosophical instruments. The gymnasium of Smyrna, under the charge of two brothers, Roumeliots, named Œconomos, was at the same time numerously attended; and prior to the commotions of the Ottoman empire, upwards of three hundred students were there instructed in an extensive course of science and humanity.*

attainments in chemistry and natural philosophy. (Rizo, pp. 124, 125. Jowett, p. 70.) Apostolos and Joannes were equally famed for their knowledge of ancient Greek and Hellenic. Piccolo, a dramatic writer, now professor at Corfu, a writer of some celebrity, and translator of Descartes, and Jules David, son to the painter, and author of the best grammar we possess of Romaic, were likewise resident at Scio previous to the bursting of the late revolution. To Cokinaki, who produced a modern Greek version of Moliere's *Tartuffe*, and wrote also a history of commerce, (Leake, p. 88; Rizo, p. 147,) and to Varvaki, a learned and wealthy merchant, Scio was likewise deeply indebted; from the latter, in particular, she received her printing-presses and the first valuable addition to her library. (Rizo, p. 125.)

* Besides this establishment there were likewise six or eight other seminaries at Smyrna in 1818, each accommodating from eighty to a hundred pupils. (Jowett, pp. 52, 53.) One of the masters of the gymnasium, about the beginning of this century, was Constantine Koumas, a native of Larissa. He was author of some treatises on physic and mathematics, and edited a dictionary of Romaic, and, according to Colonel Leake, an Hellenic grammar of the French language by the

The college of Aivali, or Kydonies,* owing to the wealth and public spirit of its supporters, was, previously to the disturbances of 1821, one of the most flourishing seminaries of Greece. It owed its foundation chiefly to the exertions of a native of Mitylene, named Benjamin, who became subsequently one of its brightest literary ornaments. Having received an elementary education at home, he repaired for the completion of his studies to the Italian universities, and returning after a long absence to his native island, he attempted the establishment of a school of literature and philosophy. His views, however, met with but feeble encouragement, and being compelled to abandon the design, he passed over to the opposite continent, with the intention of becoming a teacher at Kydonies.

This town had been, but a few years before, merely a wretched village, inhabited partly by

Prince Nicolas Karadza. He likewise translated Adel's Elements of Chemistry, and Tenneman's History of Philosophy. He was subsequently a professor at Couroutchesmé.

* The latter is the Greek name, from *Kudavialis*, "quince-trees," the former the Turkish, from "aiva," a word of the same import. The town is situated on the coast of Æolis, seventy-five miles north-west of Smyrna, and immediately opposite to Mosconisi (the Isle of Perfume), the Hecatonisi or Island of Diana of the ancients.

Christians but chiefly by Turks, the former subsisting in a kind of impoverished vassalage beneath the tyranny of the latter. From this oppression they were released almost by the sole exertions of one enlightened citizen, John Œconomos, who obtained by his personal exertions, aided by his wealth, the government of the village, together with a firman enjoining the immediate departure of the Mahomedan residents, and prohibiting their future return.* By the same authority the people were empowered to appoint their own magistrates and syndics, nor was an Armenian or Jew permitted to take up his abode in Kydonies. From this period the town rose rapidly in importance; it was protected and encouraged not only by the powerful family of the Kara Osman Oglou, but by that of the Durri Zades at Constantinople, in whose family it was an hereditary appanage, and under the wise government of Œconomos it became the asylum of the fugitive Christians from every district of Greece.† Its inhabitants amounted in 1821 to upwards of thirty-five thousand, who were supported and enriched by an active commerce in olives and oil, which

* Raffenel, *Histoire des Evénemens de la Grèce*, 1822, note, p. 195.

† Jowett, p. 64. Raffenel, p. 196.

they exported to Odessa, Taganroc, and the various ports of the Black Sea.* Its situation, naturally beautiful and picturesque, received double embellishment from the taste and generosity of its possessors; and its public buildings, its churches, and hospitals were rivalled only by those of the capital.

Previously to the arrival of Benjamin, a number of smaller schools had existed at Aivali, but by his persuasions the extensive college, which subsequently conferred its chief distinction on the town, was completed in 1803.† It was an extensive enclosed square, situated near the sea-shore, and containing accommodations for the professors and one hundred students, together with a library, laboratory, and lecture-

* Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 69.

† Rizo (p. 69.) says that the college was founded by Œconomos, but Œconomos died in 1791. His last days were embittered by chagrin and disappointment; he lost the favour of his fellow-citizens, was accused, whether falsely or not is doubtful, of tyranny and arbitrary measures, and finally declined altogether in his influence at Constantinople by the decease of some of his warmest patrons. The manner of his death is uncertain; by some it was attributed to age and disease, by others to poison, but it was most likely the consequence of a disappointed and broken heart. His remains were deposited in the Church of the Orphans, which he had himself built, without even a slab or an epitaph to mark the last resting-place of the friend of Kydonies.

rooms. The former contained upwards of two thousand volumes,* and the course delivered in the latter comprised every branch professed in the other seminaries of Greece. Benjamin was its first professor, and continued for upwards of fifteen years to preside with honour over an institution which owed its origin solely to himself. A misunderstanding at last led to his resignation; he retired to Constantinople, and subsequently to Bucharest, where he was received and patronized by the Hospodar Karadza; by the flight of this nobleman in 1818,† he was left without a patron, he embarked with enthusiasm in the project of the revolution then in agitation, and became an active agent of the Heteria in arousing the Greeks to resistance. He lived to witness the first brilliant successes of their arms, but fell a victim to the epidemic fever which in 1824 ravaged Napoli di Romania.‡

The college of Couroutchesmé, on the Thra-

* Fisk's Memoirs, p. 87.

† See vol. ii. of this History, c. xii. p. 29.

‡ The destruction of Aivali, which took place in June 1821, was one of the first acts of retaliation inflicted by the Turks on their revolutionary subjects; an account of its pillage and conflagration will be found in the Memoir of M. Raffanel, who was attached to the French Consulate at Aivali. See vol. i. c. ix. of his *Histoire des Evénemens de la Grèce*.

cian Bosphorus, was amongst the most gratifying monuments of the benefits conferred on his country by Demetrius Morousi, who has been already mentioned as the agent of Selim III. for the promotion of education throughout his dominions.* Proius, a native of Scio, was its first director, and occupied for many years the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy, but being transferred to the bishopric of Adrianople, he perished amongst the earliest victims of the revolution. Platon, his countryman and successor, and Stephen Dounkas, a Thessalian, who in turn held the same honourable office, were equally distinguished with their predecessor; the latter, especially, was remarkable for his generous and extended patriotism, and to his liberality and talents Ampelakia was deeply indebted for her literary distinction. The prosperity of Couroutchesmé, notwithstanding occasional impediments, continued till the death of its patron to be strikingly progressive. The fate of Morousi, its benefactor, resembled that of numbers of his class; he was appointed Drogueman to Halet Effendi, the plenipotentiary of the Porte at the treaty of Bucharest in 1812; and the liberal concessions then made to Russia having excited the resent-

* See vol. ii. c. xvi. p. 423.

ment of the Vizir, Demetrius, on his return to Schumla, was sabred in the court-yard of the palace, and his head dispatched to decorate the gate of the seraglio.*

In mentioning the names of those institutions, to which I have here alluded, I have selected only the most prominent of the Grecian seminaries; but it is by no means to be inferred that these were the only sources whence the nation was to derive education and enlightenment. The offshoots of knowledge, like the branches of the banyan-tree, bloom not, to blossom and decay; each strikes deep root into the soil which it overhangs, and becomes in turn the prolific parent of a congenial progeny. But a brief period elapsed from the first ardent cultivation of learning in Greece till its blessings were almost universally diffused; and notwithstanding the vigilant jealousy of despotism, the interruptions of civil war, and the perpetual obstructions of poverty, scarcely fifteen years of the present century had passed till every community of the Greeks, either at home, in Turkey, or abroad, possessed a school for the instruction of youth in an acquaintance with their vulgar tongue, and in most instances with their ancient language and the sciences of

* Rabbe, p. 108. Walsh, pp. 274, 275. Rizo, p. 103.

modern Europe.* The manners and habits of the nation began at the same time to assume a new aspect from the cultivation of their minds, and even the more advanced indications of civilization existed amongst them in a perfection altogether remarkable in a people who but a few years before were ignorant even in name of European refinements. Theatres were established at Bucharest, Yassi, Odessa, and Corfu,†

* Douglas, p. 73. Rabbe, p. 172. Leake, p. 228.

† I subjoin an announcement of the performance at the theatre of Corfu on the 19th of February 1825, when Alfieri's Orestes was represented.

Κερκύρα τῇ 7f19 Φεβρουαρίου 1825.

Σαββάτω ἑσπέρας παρασταίνεται καὶ δευτέραν φορὰν παρὰ τῶν ἰδίων φιλοκάλων νέων, ὁ ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΦΙΕΡΟΥ, Τραγωδία εἰς πέντη πράξεις, μεταφρασμένη εἰς τὴν ἀπλοελληνικὴν μας γλῶσσαν. Τὸ Θέατρον ὅλον θέλει εἶσθαι φωταγωγημένον. Ἡ ἐὰ τιμὴ τῆς εἰσόδου ἡ συνειθισμένη.

ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

Αἰγισθος . . . Ο Κύριος Δημήτριος Δεσποτόπουλος.
Κλυταμνήστρα . . Ο Κύρ. Κωνσταντῖνος Δήμου.
Ηλέκτρα . . . Ο Κύρ. Σπυρίδων Αλεξάκης.
Ορέστης . . . Ο Κύρ. Κωνσταντῖνος Αριστείας.
Πυλάδης . . . Ο Κύρ. Νικόλαος Κονοφάος.
Στρατιῶται.
Οπαδοὶ Ορέστου καὶ Πυλάδου.

Ἡ παράστασις θέλει ἀρχίσῃ εἰς τὰς 7 ἡρας τῇ Ἑσπέρας παρὰ τέταρτον.

and four journals, published in Romaic, were widely circulated throughout almost every district.* The character of the national literature likewise assumed a totally different tone, and the preponderance which had once been usurped by theology and polemics was now unanimously assigned to history and poetry, morals, philology, and science.†

* Rizo, Cours, &c. p. 102. Leake, p. 234. Jowett, p. 71.

† Of an imperfect list, casually collected, of about three hundred Romaic works, original and translated, published since 1750, sixteen are on theology and biblical criticism, three on jurisprudence and political economy, nineteen on ethics and moral philosophy, eleven on geography and topography, nine on arithmetic and algebra, ten on mathematics, fourteen on natural philosophy and chemistry, thirteen on medical science, three on navigation and military tactics, two on the fine arts, fifty-three on history, chronology, and historical biography, two travels, twenty-one poetical translations, sacred and profane poetry and the drama,† three novels and romances, five on philology, six lexicography, eleven on grammar, nine on logic and rhetoric, eight on metaphysics, five on astronomy, three on natural history, besides several on miscellaneous subjects chiefly connected with education and the belles lettres, and a number of editions and commentaries on the classics.

† Besides some translations of the dramas of Voltaire, Racine, and Moliere, Rizo says that "Les chefs d'œuvre de Schiller, de Goethe, de Kotzebue, de Gessner, de Wieland, d'Alfieri, de Monti, de Metastase ont passé dans nôtre langue." Cours, &c. p. 147.

It is in vain, with such details as these before us, to assert that the Greek revolution was the produce of political machinations or external interference.* Its origin is alone to be traced in the aroused intelligence of the nation; it was the schools and the colleges of Greece which effectually destroyed the equilibrium of oppression and endurance; and it is to her Constandas and Philippides, her Vamvas and Benjamins, that she is indebted for her freedom, rather than to the swords of her chieftains or the cannon of her allies.

The main support of all this improvement, and that to which its earliest dawns and its latest success are to be alike attributed, was the advancing commerce of the Greeks. The advantages which her insular and maritime population had derived from the treaties of Kainardji and Yassi,† they had ample opportunities of improving during the hostilities between France and England, which continued from the latter end of the last to the beginning of the present century, when the islanders, profit-

* It was so declared at Laybach. See De Pradt's *Aperçu sur la Grèce*, appended to his *Parallèle de la Puissance Anglaise et Russe relativement à l'Europe*, Paris 1823, p. 178. Waddington's *Visit to Greece*, *Introd.*; and the first chapter of Soutzo's *History of the Revolution*.

† See ante, c. xvi. p. 420.

ing by the protection of the British flag, monopolized almost exclusively the *caravane*, or Levant trade of the French.* The presence of the Russians at the same time in the Mediterranean, and their amicable relation with the Sultan, served in no slight degree to favour the interests of the Greeks, whom the Divan thought proper to countenance, in order, as they supposed, to secure the friendship of their Muscovite coreligionists.† Demetrius Morousi had it in his power likewise, about the same period, to render an essential service to his countrymen by doing away with the system of *beraths*‡ and obtaining from the Sultan a charter for incorporating the mercantile Greeks into one extensive trading company, under the title of “The European Merchants.” This association enjoyed many and valuable privileges; instead of owing its prerogative, as formerly, to the protection of foreign ministers, it held directly from the sovereign; it was exempt from capitation and inordinate imposts, it participated in all the licences accorded to the subjects of other states resident in Turkey,§ and down to the commencement of the late insurrection its rights remained inviolate.

* Raffenel, v. i. p. 4. † Rizo, Hist. pp. 173, 196.

‡ See vol. i. of this History, c. ix. p. 307.

§ Rizo, Hist. p. 178. Rabbe, Introd. to Raybaud, p. 117.

Every vicissitude of the Porte and every political movement of the European powers seemed at this crisis to contribute to the advantage of the Greeks. On the occupation of Malta by the British in 1800 it became immediately the depôt of oriental commerce, and the Hydriots and other merchants hastened to establish houses at Valetta, where, by their intimate acquaintance with the Levant and their knowledge of its productions and inhabitants, they possessed a decided superiority over all other adventurers, and rapidly amassed inordinate wealth.* The Divan, a few years subsequently, having thought proper to punish the Czar, by prohibiting the trade of the Black Sea, the Greeks were in the regular habit of bribing the guards of the castles at its entrance for permission to pass during the night; and having exchanged their sulphur, silks, oil, and wine at Odessa and Taganroc, they repassed the straits and gained incredible profit on their cargoes of corn, which they received in return and carried for disposal to the ports of Spain. From these concurrent circumstances the islanders rose in a short time to such an unprecedented height of prosperity that they seemed to form as it were a separate portion of the

* Carrel, p. 270. Raffanel, v. i. p. 5.

Ottoman empire, exempt from all its despotic enactments, and untainted by its barbarism. But a short period had elapsed from their first admission to the rights of merchants till they possessed a trading fleet of six hundred vessels in the Mediterranean, and gave employment to upwards of twenty thousand seamen from the isles of the Archipelago.* Of these, Hydra alone, in 1813, furnished sixty sail manned by two thousand of her own inhabitants.† Her merchants were amongst the richest capitalists of Europe, and so generous in behalf of their country that one individual alone, Varvaki, is said to have contributed three hundred thousand piastres towards improving the harbour of his native island. Nor is this a solitary instance of the intensity of that spirit of patriotism

* Soutzo, *Histoire de la Revolution de la Grèce*, p. 10.

† This number of hands may seem disproportionate, but the Greeks are always in the habit of crowding a vast number of sailors on board their trading craft. Nor does this seem a modern propensity; the only instance in which Homer mentions the proportion of men to ships in the Grecian armament, is that of the Bæotians, whose small vessels carried each one hundred and twenty men to Troy; no trifling complement when considered in connexion with so perilous a voyage.

Τῶν μὲν παντήκοντα νέες κίον· ἐν δὲ ἐκάστῃ
Κοῦροι Βοιωτῶν ἐκαστὸν καὶ εἴκοσι βαῖνον.

Il. β. l. 510.

which characterizes the march of later events in Greece. Suffering and tyranny seemed to have inspired the whole nation with one common impulse, the energies of every individual were directed to the same end ; and to this resistless combination must be attributed the singularly rapid advancement and regeneration of Greece.

Another cause of the prosperity of the Greek sailors was their utility and services to the Ottoman fleet. Their importance in this quarter had been early perceived as well by Gazi Hassan as by Hussein Pacha, who subsequently enjoyed for many years the post of Grand Admiral, and chiefly to his interference and the kindness of a brother of Demetrius Morousi, named Panajotaki, who was long drogueman of the Marine, the inhabitants of the Cyclades were indebted for several immunities and privileges which they latterly enjoyed.* Five hundred of them were annually drafted off for the fleet of the Sultan, where they filled all offices of trust, and had frequently the command of vessels of low rate.† Nor were their services here by any means inefficient ; during the existence of the triple alliance, the navy of Constantinople, manned by Greek sailors, formed no contemptible auxiliary to those of Russia and

* Rizo, Hist. p. 179.

† Carrel, p. 273. See ante, p. 421.

England, and at a period of subsequent hostility their talents and prowess were amply evinced against their former allies. A nursery for seamen was thus secured whose advantages have been well attested in the scenes of the late revolution, on the first explosion of which not only was the navy of the insurgents manned with experienced sailors, but that of their opponents was left almost without a single efficient hand.

By land, too, the progress of events tended to the same point with the wishes of the maritime portion of the population. The exertions of Rhiga, and the seeds of liberty implanted by him, were by no means unproductive. The feelings of the nation were aroused, and a hatred of oppression and a spirit of resistance universally succeeded to that apathy and calm endurance which had characterized the previous servitude of the Greeks. Any violent manifestation of their sentiments was however suspended by the immediate vicissitudes of the Porte, and the hopes successively excited by the French and the Russians on the coasts. Striking examples, too, were from time to time exhibited for their imitation both in Europe and the Western world; and those ideas which were at first inspired by the revolutions of the United States and France were kept alive and

enhanced by the subsequent movements in Servia, Italy, South America, and the Peninsula.

But long ere these later commotions had occurred a revolution in Greece was inevitable: a spirit of enlarged intelligence had gone abroad amongst the people; for upwards of fifty years revolt had been a familiar word, and its probable success a matter of popular speculation; the nation possessed a burning sense of wrongs, a thirst for liberty, a military enterprize equal to the attempt, and gradually increasing wealth to support the efforts and supply the sinews of war. Two circumstances connected with the peace of 1816 served materially to hasten the explosion. The soldiers who had been serving under the standards of Russia, France, and England then returned in vast numbers to their homes, bearing with them high ideas of European liberty and civilization, prepared to contrast in every point the misery of their countrymen with the comforts and enjoyments of their late associates, and to demonstrate to their friends and companions their positive national strength and the weakness of their oppressors, who whilst all the nations around them were advancing in power and intelligence alone continued unaltered, and retained the

same barbarous habits and rude ideas which had characterized the days of the Othmans and Amuraths. The other cause was the perceptible check which the commerce of the Greeks then received by the destruction of monopolies, and the throwing open to every flag the navigation of the Mediterranean:* their trade was thus again reduced to an equitable level, and crowds of the sea-faring population were obliged by its curtailment to betake themselves to more sluggish and less congenial or profitable occupations on shore.

Discontent and irritation were thus suddenly and alarmingly increased in every district; and it required all the exertions and vigilance of Ali Pacha and his emissaries, aided by the firhmans and countenance of the Porte, to repress or rather retard rebellion. The downfall of this monster was, however, the signal for revolt. From the first accession of Mahmoud II. to the throne, the fate of Ali had been decided on as a portion of an extensive plan for destroying the independent feudatories which had been so long a source of disquiet to the Porte.† His wealth, however, his proximity

* Soutzo, Hist. p. 31. Carrel, p. 281.

† Rizo, Hist. pp. 166, 217, 250, 253. Pouqueville, Régénération, v. i. p. 322.

to the scene of the Sultan's immediate political anxieties, his military service against the northern rebels, and his usefulness as a check upon the occupants of the Ionian Islands, together with the press of more urgent affairs abroad, long served to suspend his overthrow. But the restoration of peace at last deprived him of the protection of circumstances; and his subsequent atrocities were with difficulty expiated at Constantinople. The massacre of the Gardikiots seemed to complete the accumulation of his crimes; its announcement and explanation, though accompanied by presents and apologies, was coldly received by the Divan, and the approaching ruin of the vizir became at length apparent to all.

Ali was himself by no means insensible to his danger, but he still cherished hopes of being able to avert it; and by means of lazarettos and a *cordon sanitair* established on all the great roads leading to the capital, on the plea of a plague existing at Constantinople, he contrived to secure the papers and persons of several capidgis successively commissioned to procure his head for the decoration of the seraglio.* He sought likewise to strengthen his party by attaching to himself the remnant of the Klephts

* Carrel, p. 247.

who had preserved their liberty after the defeat of Blachavas. In lieu of his former barbarous policy, he all at once held out to them offers of the utmost lenity and kindness; and so successful were his attempts that for some time previous to his fall the most distinguished chieftains and their followers, amounting to upwards of twelve thousand, were enrolled in his service, and the free cantons almost without exception were all under his protection, and either virtually or nominally submitted to his tribute.*

The practice of arms and the military ardour of the mountaineers were thus kept alive and vigorous, and at the same time the more energetic and vigilant lovers of freedom took care to adopt measures for the encouragement and concentration of that spirit of liberty which had gone so widely abroad throughout the nation. The grand instrument for effecting this desirable purpose was the Heteria or secret association, to which I have before alluded.† This remarkable institution, which had suffered

* Carrel, p. 238. Rizo, Hist. p. 166. A list of the northern and Moreot Klefts and the number of their retainers, as they existed in 1819, will be found at the conclusion of the fourth chapter of Rizo's History.

† Chap. xvi. p. 427.

materially by the death of Rhiga,* was revived in Greece about the same period with the es-

* The exact origin of the Heteria is a matter of dispute amongst the annalists of Modern Greece. I have followed, as most probable, the opinion of Rizo (Hist. part. iii. c. i. p. 241.) that it was a revival of the society established by Rhiga. In this he is supported by the other native historian of the revolution, Soutzo, who states that the late Heteria was an incorporation of the *'Αδελφότητα*, or fraternity of Rhiga, with a new constitution and more extended object. (*Histoire de la Revolution Grecque*, pp. 13, 15.) Pouqueville, with his usual sickening anxiety for romance, speaks of its origin with an air of clap-trap and mystery: "La société des Hétéristes, fondée à Vienne en 1814, de concert mais je m'arrête, comme cet écrivain de l'antiquité, averti par un génie qui lui défendit de révéler les mystères sacrés d'Eleusis." (v. ii. p. 309.) In this passage, however, as well as in another in his first volume, (p. 424.) he refers its establishment to no earlier a date than 1814. M. Rabbe concurs in the same opinion, and adds in a note another romantic story about its foundation by four merchants, who, after meeting at some nameless place, determine to free their country, and depart each a different route to Russia, Turkey, Italy, and Germany, in order to organize a society and make proselytes. (Introd. to Raybaud's Mem. p. 172.) Carrel follows the opinion of M. Rabbe. (p. 293.) Mr. Waddington, in the Introduction to his Visit to Greece, likewise dates its existence no farther back than 1814, (p. xviii.) and Colonel Leake gives his authority to the same idea. (Outline, &c. p. 43.) The knowledge of a like society being founded but a few years before by Rhiga, the certainty of its existence, however limited in extent, down to the revival of the Heteria, (Rizo, p. 242,) together with the similarity of its object and consti-

tablishment of the Philomuse or literary society at Athens. Its design, in its renovated form, was simply the recovery of Grecian liberty; and for effecting this momentous object every essential requisite was combined in its constitution which required from its members moral probity, genuine patriotism, unsullied honour, inviolable secrecy, and liberal pecuniary contributions.* Blending with its regulations an air of somewhat childish mystery, its ceremonies and forms of admission resembled in a great degree those of the Carbonari† and other secret associations of Europe, although we have no direct or conclusive evidence of the existence of any intelligence with them.‡

tution, seem without any farther conjecture to identify the two institutions, especially when their incorporation is distinctly asserted.

* “Γραυδὸς, βεβαίως θερμὸς ἐραστὴς τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ καλὸς ἄνθρωπος,” is the specified qualification of a candidate for admission, who on his initiation swears to consider the secret of the society sacred as a sealed letter, “σφραγισμένα γράμματα.”

† See Memoirs of the Secret Societies of the South of Italy, particularly the Carbonari. London, Murray, 1821.

‡ Papers are said to have been laid before the Congress of Verona convicting the Greek Heterists of correspondence with the Italian Carbonari, but neither the precise allegation nor the nature of its proof is correctly ascertained. A very minute and interesting account of the Heteria, indeed the most perfect which I have seen, is contained in the

During the few years which preceded the Greek revolution the agents and emissaries of the Heteria were dispersed throughout every country and province where Greeks had established themselves. Repeated efforts were said to have been made to procure the countenance and support of the Russian cabinet,* and though these are said to have been all unsuccessful, their cause was enthusiastically espoused both at St. Petersburg and Moscow,† and more especially at Odessa, Taganroc, and the southern cities of the empire, where their ephorias, or branch associations flourished in most active vigour.‡ They extended at the same time over the two hospodariates, Bulgaria and Servia, and were established at Constantinople, Smyrna, and all the trading towns of Turkey. Corresponding societies existed in every district of Greece, from the Morea to Macedon, and in every European state where the Greeks had been induced to settle; the capitani of every clan, the principal proprietors of shipping, the mer-

second section of Mr. Waddington's Introduction to his Visit to Greece, where the reader will find copies of the oaths, forms of admission, &c.

* Rizo, Hist. p. 247. Soutzo, p. 16.

† See Greece in 1823 and 1824 by Colonel Stanhope, p. 29.

‡ Waddington, Introd. pp. xlix. xxxi.

chants of the islands, the proestoi of the agricultural districts, and the traders of the maritime towns were all members of the Heteria, and even the patriotic females of the nation were said to have been enrolled in its numbers.*

An extended and perpetual understanding was thus maintained throughout every province and every community of the Greeks wheresoever established, and regular and authentic intelligence was procured, not only of the proceedings of the Turkish Divan and of every independent pachalic, but likewise of the feelings and projects of the European courts. The Heteria served as a powerful lens to collect and concentrate into one focus the scattered rays of patriotism and intelligence, and to direct their combined force so as to be productive of the most striking and effective results. The wide extent of Greece and European Tur-

* Rizo, Hist. pp. 243, 247, 275. Carrel, p. 293. Pouqueville, v. ii. pp. 217, 313. Soutzo, pp. 18, 19, 22. Mr. Waddington observes, that fear or interest prevented numbers of the wealthier Greeks from joining the Heteria, and that very few of the Athenians were known to be members. Of the Hydriots, likewise, some were held back by policy or prudence; "but no one will doubt," adds Mr. Waddington, "that they were all well aware of its existence, and were observing its secret operations with attention and anxiety." p. xxxi.

key, as it stretches from its southern limits to the stream of the Danube and the snows of the Carpathian hills, resembled one vast prepared mine, furnished with regularly disposed magazines, and traversed in every direction by secret trains, which on the application of the first spark, however trivial, were to explode with frightful havoc and hurl far and wide the superincumbent structure of tyranny and oppression. An accident,* it is said, at last applied the fatal flame; but a more probable cause was the sudden rupture between the Porte and Ali Pacha, who was declared fermanli by the Divan in the spring of 1820. The touch was electric, and almost simultaneously all Greece was in arms. Of the contest which ensued the details are still too recent to be recorded with confidence, and too conflicting to be judged of without the leveling evidence of time. A struggle, equal in

* According to a report quoted by Mr. Waddington, the revolution was precipitated by the discovery of a plot organized by the Heteria to seize on all the fortresses of the Morea. Another design of similar origin, which is equally said to have been accidentally discovered, was a plan for setting fire to Constantinople and effecting the murder of the Sultan. The existence of the latter is confirmed by Soutzo. Waddington's Introduction to his Visit to Greece, p. vi. Soutzo, Histoire, p. 41.

duration to the war which Homer sung, and in individual valour not perhaps inferior, has at last drawn to a glorious close; and Greece, though her future destiny be as yet obscure, has emerged from the trial regenerate and free. Like the star of Merope, all sad and lustreless,* her darkness has at length disappeared, and her European sisters haste to greet the returning brightness of the beautiful and long-lost Pleiad.

* Ovid, *Fast.* l. iv. v. 175.

THE END.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I. Page 11. line 17, *for* and even, *read* and who even.—42. a. 7, *for* marais sont formés sur la côte, après avoir enselevé, &c. *read* marais se sont formés, &c. après avoir enseveli.—51. 10, *after* "Theodosius," *insert* II.—53. 15, *for* writing, *read* writings.—54. 7, *for* dynasty *read* reign.—56. 2, *for* her history is blank, *read* her history is a blank.—ib. 13, *for* seems, *read* seem.—63. 27, *for* alarm the Greeks that, *read* alarm the Greeks lest.—65. 9, *dele* "is."—ib. 19, *for* so that of all his gigantic, *read* all their gigantic.—66. 11, *for* their desolate domains, *read* its desolate domains.—ib. 13, *for* a detail, *read* detail.—71. a. and 76. a. *for* Vol. II. *read* Vol. xi.—73. 16, "the progress of."—79. 3, *for* legitimatizing, *read* legitimating.—ib. 24, *for* a band of the pilgrims, *read* a band of pilgrims.—87. a. 16, *for* Scalvi, *read* Sciavi.—100. the two first lines should *read* thus, "possessions, notwithstanding a previous contract by which he had engaged to leave them," &c.—101. the 8th, 9th, and 10th lines should *read* thus, "after which he entrusted the government of his Epirot despotate to Michael Angelus Nothus, with the concurrence of Vatatzes of Nice."—110. 4, *for* Court of Zante, *read* Count of Zante.—ib. 13, *for* *read* resource.—133. 11, *for* armed with assailants, *read* manned with assailants.—150. 6, *for* in these attempts, *read* in their attempts.—161. 10, *for* Hemoe, *read* Hemoe.—163. a. *dele* "page."—164. 6, *for* Catacuzene, *read* Cantacuzene.—177. 3, *for* impatient of change, *read* impatient for change.—177. 3, *for* empire, *read* empire.—184. a. 4, *for* porta, *read* porto.—200. last, *for* though all furnished, *read* though all furnished.—204. a. 11, *for* addressed to Leo and prefixed, *read* addressed to Leo, prefixed.—209. 11, *for* seventeenth, *read* eighteenth.—226. 12, *for* defender, *read* defendera.—273. 3, *for* one post being, *read* one part being.—273. 3, *for* qui, *read* que.—278. a. 3, *for* both, *read* each.—ib. a. 12, *for* each other, *read* the other.—279. a. 1, *for* la royaulme, *read* le royaume.—281. a. 1, *for* βαββαδα, *read* βαββαδα.—285. 17, *for* dominion, *read* dominions.—292. 10, *for* were liable to, *read* was liable to.—ib. a. 3, *for* pouvent, *read* peuvent.—298. 24, *for* the conquests, *read* their conquests.—308. 1, *for* seventeenth century, *read* eighteenth century.—316. 17, *for* Gynecium, *read* Gynecium.—329. 9, *for* seventeenth, *read* eighteenth.—341. a. 1, *for* triune, *read* trine.—343. 3, *for* distinguishes, *read* distinguish.—ib. 7, *dele* "alone."—346. 3, *for* but perhaps, *read* though perhaps.—353. 11, *for* Drekos, *read* Derkos.—ib. 19, *for* firmans, *read* firmans.—365. a. 4, *for* was appointed, *read* were appointed.—ib. 5, *for* of his diocese, *read* of their dioceses.—378. a. *for* Therapeuta, *read* Therapeuta.—ib. a. 1, *for* Singiese, *read* Singiese.—393. a. 2, *for* sola on in, *read* sola et in.—406. 2, *for* ceit, *read* deceit.—411. 2, *for* subjects and, *read* subject and.—414. 6, *for* vigour, *read* rigour.—420. 7, *for* henceforth, *read* thenceforth.—430. a. 4, *for* Kissaros, *read* Kissaros.—434. a. 10, *for* ματην *read* κατην.

VOL. II. Page 11, line 7, *for* inference, *read* interference.—16. 5, *for* of their early, *read* of its early.—32. 8, *for* surround, *read* surrounded.—37. a. 2, *for* and married, *read* or married.—40. a. 3, *for* qui, *read* que.—40. a. 9, *for* Discerit, *read* Dixerit.—52. a. 2 and 3, *for* commendatent, *read* commandaient.—60. 15, *for* returned to its, *read* returned to their.—71. a. 4, *for* Linacre's, *read* Linacer's.—84. 4, *dele* "national."—ib. a. 1, *dele* "The names of."—100. 3, *for* attracted, *read* influenced.—103. 21, *for* appear, *read* appears.—135. 16, *for* educational studies, *read* education.—178. 3, *for* Rhodante *read* Rhodanthe.—221. a. 6, *for* διερεθον, *read* διερεθον.—247. 5, *dele* "anal."—249. 3, *for* prevented, *read* perverted.—290. 15, *for* possessing, *read* professing.—303. 9, *for* There was something too, *read* there was likewise something.—301. a. 4, *for* says, *read* say.—406. 8, *for* Souzo, *read* Soutzo.

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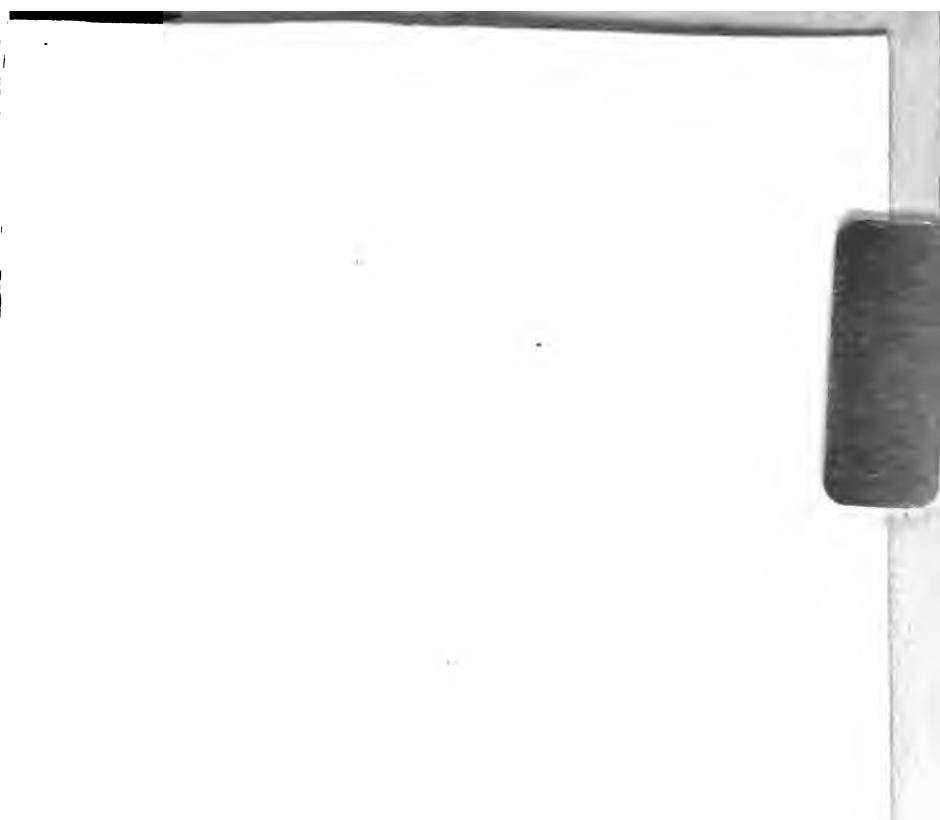
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